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REAGAN PROPOSALS PLOY TO GAIN SUPERIORITY

AU201459 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 20 Nov (BTA) -- Today in its leader RABOTNICHESKO DELO stresses that "the proposal" made by President Reagan in his speech can have but one definition: "It is not a gleam of realism in the course pursued so far by the USA. On the contrary: It is only a continuation of this course, dangerous and unrealistic as it is, aimed at gaining military and strategic superiority".

The newspaper writes that above all it should be pointed out that the formulation is not a new one. It has been for a long time in currency among the political and military circles in the USA and NATO and is known there under the "zero variant" code - I.E. to give up the "Pershing II" and "cruise" with liquidating the "SS-20" in return.

"This, however, reads further the commentary, which reduces this formulation to the naive and the uninitiated who can believe in it, is that it stops before the most substantial in the present military and strategic situation in Europe. And this is because in it the fact that the forward-based nuclear means in the USA and NATO deployed now in Western Europe are directed against the USSR and the other Warsaw treaty member countries is intentionally concealed. The adequate counterbalance which guarantees security to the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw treaty member countries lies mainly in the Soviet medium-range missiles.

Recalling that competent specialists in the West, too, have more than once admitted that now in Europe there is an approximate balance between NATO and the USSR in the sphere of nuclear weapons, that even the precise account bears witness to a certain superiority in number of NATO, RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes, "This is why the demand for dismantling the Soviet medium-range missiles without mentioning the respective necessary decision on forward based American nuclear means in Europe, including the Aquatorio [as received] belonging to Europe (carried by submarines, ships and aviation) is in its essence a demand for a unilateral disarmament on the part of the USSR, for a serious breaking of the military balance in favour of the USA and NATO and to the detriment of the security of the Warsaw treaty member-countries."

Both the advertisment and the propaganda noise around Reagan's speech taken up immediately after it has been delivered, the newspaper writes, show that in Washington, too, hopes are pinned predominantly on the propaganda function of the proposals put forward in it. What the speech aims at is to improve the concept for the U.S. foreign policy behaviour which in recent weeks and months has been the reason for deep discontent on the part of the wide peace-loving public in the USA and in its allied countries and a subject of discontent and criticism on the part of the Western European leading circles themselves.

The commentary gives as very telling the fact that even the bourgeois British newspapers in their very first responses recall quite prosaically that what the speech is aimed at is, above all, to counteract the stormy wave of actions launched by the peace-loving public forces against the U.S. fanned out arms race, as well as to set up a basis for the allied governments in Western Europe to subdue the protest. "It is in this context that the link between the moment chosen for the speech to be delivered and the forth-coming Soviet-West German summit dialogue is looked for," RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes.

The newspaper maintains that the responses and the commentaries on the speech reveal that the maneouver will fail to deceive the peaceful public forces and, still less, to kindle an (?aura) of love for peace around official Washington.

"The real socialism", the newspaper writes in conclusion, "has produced a number of convincing proofs that it stands for negotiations, staunchly and consistently no matter how complicated and difficult they are, but for honest, equitable and constructive negotiations, in which each of the parties is to preceed from the principle of equal security and is to respect the interest of the other one."

SOLIDARITY CONTINUES TO PROVOKE STRIKES

AU211743 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] In a number of Polish cities the district leaderships of the "Solidarity" trade union continue to provoke strikes of various groups of workers, employees, and private farmers. This is what the BTA correspondent reports from Warsaw.

Strikes and social conflicts are being exploited by the members of the anti-state and anticommunist organization called "Confederation of Independent Poland". Undisturbed, they are distributing leaflets in a number of cities, voicing the demand that the Sejm should be disbanded, that the socialist system should be overthrown, and that Poland should leave the Warsaw Pact alliance.

All this is being done when the PZPR Central Committee and the Government are proposing to create a front of national accord with the participation of all patriotic forces in the country to overcome the deep socioeconomic and political crisis. This proposal enjoys wide public support in the country. On this basis an increasing number of working people in Poland are becoming convinced of the fact that the reactionary forces within "Solidarity" do not desire any peace or outcome from the crisis, but are guided by the slogan: "The Worse It Is, The Better For Us."

SOVIET MARSHAL KULIKOV PAYS VISIT 21-22 NOV

'Short, Working Visit'

AU212122 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Soviet Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries, and Army Gen Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, have arrived in Bulgaria on a short and working visit.

They were welcomed at Sofia Airport by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense; Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the general staff; deputy ministers and generals of the Bulgarian People's Army; and Col Gen Vladimir Aykushin, representative of the commander of chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries attached to the Bulgarian People's Army.

Departs 22 Nov

AU221932 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] On 22 November USSR Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Army Gen Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pack Joint Armed Forces, departed from Bulgaria. They were in Bulgaria on a short working visit. They were seen off at Sofia Airport by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCB Central Committee Politburo members and minister of national defense; Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the general staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; deputy ministers; and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

ZHIKOV ATTENDS FESTIVITIES IN RUSE 20 NOV

'Genuine People's Holiday'

AU211739 Sofia Deomstic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Summary] "Ruse hosted a genuine people's holiday today -- the holiday of land and fertility." More than 600 leading experts and agricultural workers from all over the country met here.

This holiday is meant to express the people's gratitude for all those who work in the agricultural sector and help to increase the fertility of our soil.

In the morning the delegates to the Ruse festivities visited an exhibition of modern and highly productive agricultural equipment and machines made in Bulgaria and imported from abroad. The delegates also laid wreaths and paid their respects to the monument of the national insurrection heroes in Ruse town.

"At 1700 local time, the participants in the festivities and in the festive meeting of outstanding agricultural workers from all over the country met Comrade Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and greeted him with enthusiastic applause and ovations. He was accompanied by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Peko Takov, Petur Tanchev, Petur Dyulgerov, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, and other party and state leaders."

Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary, opened the festive meeting. A long speech was delivered by Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Agro-Industrial Union. "After describing the development of Bulgarian agriculture in the years of socialist construction, Comrade Petkov emphasized the importance of the historical April plenum, which for more than a quarter of a century has been transforming and further enhancing socioeconomic development in our country."

"Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, later on read a decree of the State Council on awarding honorary titles, medals and decorations to entire okrugs and to individual agricultural workers who have obtained high yields in recent years."

Numerous workers and collectives received awards and the title "Meritorious Agricultural Worker."

"Comrade Todor Zhivkov awarded the Georgi Dimitrov Order to four okrugs which were winners in the competition for agricultural successes. He then warmly greeted the participants in the festivities on the occasion of Land and Fertility Day."

Meets Party, School Officials

AU211740 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who arrived in Ruse yesterday, today visited the Angel Kunchev higher technical school. He was accompanied by Grisha Filipov, Petur Tanchev, Peko Takov, Vasil Tsanov, Minister Toncho Chakurov; Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union, and the first leaders of the Ruse Okrug. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who was welcomed particularly cordially, and those accompanying him visited (?various departments) in the higher technical school. At a meeting with the academic staff, engineer Aleksandur (?Stanchev), dean of the technical higher school, briefed the first party and state leader on the educational process in the school and on its ever more intensified connection with the socioeconomic development of the country.

A short while ago, Todor Zhivkov met the Ruse Okrug Party Committee Bureau and the People's Council Executive Committee.

STANISHEV SPEAKS AT HAVANA GATHERING 16 NOV

AU211946 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Nov 81 p 7

[Excerpts] Havana, 17 Nov (BTA) -- The Bulgarian communists and all Bulgarians express indignation against the threats to which Cuba is again submitted by U.S. imperialism.

They condemn the latest steps undertaken by the U.S. administration to intensify the tension in Central America, exercise pressure on the people and prepare the ground for further aggressive actions against socialist Cuba, Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, said here last night. He spoke at a festive celebration devoted to the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state organized at the National Theater by the Cuban National Committee for the 1,300th Anniversary and by the Ministry of Culture. Osvaldo Dorticos and Julio Camacho (Aguilera), Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and high-ranking party and state leaders, the Bulgarian ambassador Boyko Dimitrov, eminent public figures, artists, diplomats and many Bulgarian and Cuban citizens attended the celebration.

Dimitur Stanishev, who was given prolonged applause said: Cuba is an indivisible component of the socialist community. Together with the communist parties and the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, with all progressive and peace-loving people we raise our voices in the defense of Cuba, of its independence and sovereignty and we reemphasize our irrevocable militant fraternal solidarity with the Cuban people. The imperialist design will be stopped, he emphasized. The great prestige of the Soviet Union, its defensive capabilities, the strength of the real socialism and the people's willpower will counter these designs.

The speaker expressed joy and pleasure that the 1,300th anniversary of Bulgaria has found such a wide response in Cuba and also touched on the heroic traditions of the Bulgarian people marked in their history and linked with struggles against foreign invaders and enslavers.

Leaves for Nicaragua 19 Nov

AU191431 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] On 19 November Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, left [Cuba] for Managua. He leads the Bulgarian delegation to the celebrations of Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary, which will be marked in Nicaragua.

KUBADINSKI ATTENDS CSSR EMBASSY COCKTAIL PARTY

AU211940 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Nov 81 p 6

[Text] Jiri Kucera, CSSR charge d'affairs ad interim to Bulgaria, has given a cocktail party at the embassy's premises on the occasion of the official visit to Bulgaria of the CSSR National Front Central Committee delegation led by Tomas Travnicek, first deputy chairman of the front and CPCZ Central Committee member. Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, members of the State Council, and deputy chairmen and the secretary of the Fatherland Front National Council attended the cocktail party which was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

TALKS HELD WITH TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

AU211823 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Consultations between the General Directorate for Information at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Press and Information Department at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs were held in Sofia from 18 to 21 November. During the talks, issues of mutual interest were discussed. Maria Zakharieva, deputy minister of foreign affairs, received (Kaya Toperi), director general for information at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also met the leaderships of the BTA, the Bulgarian Journalists Union and Bulgarian Television.

REAGAN PROPOSAL FURTHER ANALYZED, CRITICIZED

Alleged Peace Proposals

LD221412 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Jiri Cedrovsky commentary]

[Excerpt] As soon as U.S. President Ronald Reagan finished his address on Wednesday night, a Washington journalist noted down the following: So far Reagan has always shown that he has no fear of war; today he proved that he has no fear of peace either. It was in the spirit of this idea that the U.S. propaganda, and immediately afterward the bourgeois communication media of West Europe, began to praise to high heavens the alleged peace proposals of the United States. It might have seemed to uninvolved and poorly informed people that a turn toward peace had taken place in the policy of the White House. Whereas the previous addresses of Reagan, General Haig, secretary of state, or Weinberger, defense secretary, abounded in threats, rattled on about the neutron bomb, limited nuclear war in Europe or a preventive nuclear explosion somewhere above the USSR's territory, Ronald Reagan avoided such formulations on Wednesday. On the contrary, he uttered the word peace almost 30 times.

However, at the same time a suspicion arose that Ronald Reagan had merely altered his vocabulary. This suspicion gathered force even more when the proposals of the U.S. President were confronted with the reality of the present world, with genuine facts, with the truth. Reagan has proposed that the Soviet Union destroy and scrap all the defense missiles SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20 in exchange for the United States abondoning the deployment of cruise missiles and nuclear missiles in West Europe. The U.S. representative justified this proposition by claiming that the Soviet Union has a preponderance in medium-range nuclear means in Europe in the ratio of six to one. It is known where Ronald Reagan found these figures: They come from the so-called white book whose author is Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, and which was published by the Pentagon. This book on the whole abounds in fantastic and visionary data which are meant to deceive the world about how weak the United States is in comparison with the Soviet Union. The Soviet side has categorically refuted Weinberger's calculations; it has also been refuting Reagan's ratio which reminds one most of all of an ice-hockey score, but cannot be considered to be a serious piece of information. It is well known -- and it has also been confirmed recently by the highest Soviet representative Leonid Brezhnev in his interview for the West German journal DER SPIEGEL -- that as far as the medium-range missiles are concerned there is approximate parity in Europe. The same view is held by many Western politicians and even by the experts of the London Institute of Strategic Studies, that is, an institution which fully serves NATO.

If we view Reagan's proposal about the medium-range missiles from this only possible objective angle, it becomes fully evident that the U.S. President is not striving for a genuine reduction of armaments, but that he intends to ruin this. This was defined clearly and precisely on Friday by Vadim Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, when meeting Soviet and foreign journalists. What is involved, he said, is a modified attempt at gaining a considerable strategic preponderance over the Soviet Union: That is, to disarm the socialist countries and the European part of the Soviet Union and to render it defenseless to a possible attack of almost 7,000 nuclear warheads launched from submarines, bombers and other equipment at the disposal of the United States and the NATO countries in Europe. These are facts which every sober-thinking person must acknowledge. It is quite natural that the Soviet side has categorically rejected Reagan's proposals as plastic surgery wherein the United States is attempting to create a politically favorable situation for the implementation of the NATO decision to deploy new, medium-range missiles. According to yesterday's Soviet PRAVDA, the United States is forcing upon Europe in fact a new, even more dangerous round of the nuclear arms race, and these actions do not contribute to the solution of the question of disarmament.

This is also the case with other proposals, delivered by the U.S. President at the National Press Club in Washington on Wednesday. Ronald Reagan spoke in favor of a limitation or reduction of strategic arms. He conveyed the U.S. striving toward the reduction of conventional weapons and the willingness to seek a way of preventing the flareup of a nuclear conflict. But what does Washington mean by reduction? It is precisely the U.S. Government which, for over 1 year, has been sabotaging and blocking the proposals of the talks on strategic weapons and which has buried, for example, the SALT II treaty. So far it has always been the United States that has refused the Soviet offers regarding the reduction of conventional weapons, whether those of an older date or those from the recent past. And now Ronald Reagan brings forth a proposal whose meaning, according to him, is to prevent a nuclear flareup. There exists a Soviet-U.S. agreement of September 1971 on measures reducing the danger of a nuclear war. Up to now the Soviet Union has presented further similar proposals which are connected with this issue one way or another. However, the Americans have so far presented no real and effective answer. It is not difficult to find an answer either when looking for an explanation of the other propositions of Reagan purporting to convince one about a peace-loving policy of the U.S. administration. What is involved is a calculated camouflage designed to throw sand in the eyes of antiwar opposition whose voice is gathering in strength in the Western countries. Last but not least, Reagan's address also follows a tactical aim to gain an alibi for Washington's precalculated and preplanned failure at the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Antipeace Policy

LD211836 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Unattributed "Commentary of the Week"]

[Excerpts] It is natural that international peace, the no. 1 issue of the world today, is being discussed by everybody. Last Wednesday, addressing the National Press Club in Washington, American President Reagan used this very word at least on 30 occasions, and yet his speech was more becoming to a fierce warrior, as President Reagan's address was characterized by the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE, than a constructive effort to consolidate peace. Nothing can change the substance of this, not even the worldwide publicity paying lipservice to the demagogical proposals presented by the U.S. President.

All is too reminiscent of a bad Hollywood script featuring two armed men, one of them saying: If you lay down your gun, I promise not to take an additional machinegun, because that is what the American president seems to be offering to the Soviet Union when calling for a Soviet unilateral reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles and ignoring America's own weapons.

President Reagan simply disregards the generally accepted approximate parity in mid-range nuclear missiles in Europe. He has decided to pursue a policy from the position of strength, believing that he can dictate to the world in the same fashion as he does to his Atlantic allies. In fact, nobody in Washington had expected Moscow to accept the proposals, said the British DAILY TELEGRAPH. Then the question is: Why has the American President made such a proposal in the first place? The Austrian paper ARBEITER-ZEITUNG believes that of great importance were the hundreds-of-thousands-strong demonstrations protesting against U.S. military policies. In other words, this was a propaganda exercise designed to blunt the edge of the mounting wave of anti-Americanism in Western Europe and to cushion the adverse impact of Washington's orientation on the continued arms race deployment of new missiles and preparation for waging a limited nuclear war in Europe.

Naturally, every effort is made to shift the blame and responsibility onto someone who, allegedly, has no understanding for a dialogue. But is it really the Soviet Union which is blocking effective measures towards nuclear disarmament and promotion of peaceful guarantees? To answer this question one need not go far back in history.

Many people talk about peace, but not all mean their words literally. Therefore, now more than ever before it is vital to seek the genuine meaning of these words because catchy phrases hiding an antipeace policy could deceive many honest people who know the price of peace and are campaigning for it wholeheartedly.

'Propaganda Trick'

LD202058 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Jiri Cedrovsky commentary]

[Excerpts] The commentary of the day is devoted to American President Ronald Reagan's proposals on medium-range missiles:

They were to convince the world about the U.S. administration's pacifism. They did not convince the world. On the contrary, they evoked mistrust. Reagan's proposal have been compared to the American propaganda about the first man on the moon. This was not and will not be a historical step, only an attempt at falsifying history.

Mankind, regardless of what they believe in Washington, has a memory. (?It has the knowledge) of 10 months with President Reagan in power, and the valuation is not favorable with regard to Reagan, Haig or Weinberger. Now, before the end of the year, Reagan has tried to play the role of peacemaker. He is saying that the USSR should melt down all its SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20 missiles and in exchange the United States will not deploy its nuclear missiles and ground-launching cruise missiles in West Europe. If we imagine only for a moment that the Soviet side would accept the current U.S. proposals. we would have to ask at the same time how honest is the American side in this regard? The removal of the mentioned Soviet medium-range missiles would mean that the socialist countries of Europe and the whole European part of the USSR would become a defenseless target for the nuclear arms of the United States and NATO -- a target for their arms which the American President Ronald Reagan failed to mention. The balance of power in the entire continent would change. This is an attempt on the part of the United States to gain unilateral strategic superiority over the USSR.

Under the circumstances, the Soviet reply is without doubt a principled answer when it considers Reagan's proposals as a sort of global blackmail. And not only blackmail. This is a basic and dangerous attempt of the U.S. administration to present itself in front of the world public as a constructive agent on the international scene. This is an effort to substitute the image of Reagan -- [word indistinct] military leader, for that of Reagan -- pacifist pastor.

What then about the honesty of the U.S. President's intentions? What about his alleged role as a peacemaker? The truth of this matter is unambiguous and (?shocking). This is a propaganda trick aimed at cheating millions of people, in particular the badly informed people who are to succumb to further [word indistinct] glory of Washington and to give up their growing antimilitarist approach. Briefly, Reagan's words are intended to calm them.

But this was not Reagan's only aim. The talks between the United States and the USSR on medium-range missiles are to open in Geneva on 30 November. The talks are very important and are vitally important for the fate of the whole continent.

President Reagan's proposal to get rid of the Soviet SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20 missiles was an ultimatum and also indicated the next steps of the U.S. delegation in Geneva. These steps are intended to complicate the talks and possibly also to bring them to deadlock.

It is indisputable that Reagan's propositions evoked interest. The highest Soviet representative, Leonid Brezhnev, is arriving in the FRG on Sunday on an official visit. On the agenda of his visits are not only issues concerning FRG-USSR relations but also issues concerning Europe. The Soviet standpoint is quite clear.

It is contained in the answers of Leonid Brezhnev to DER SPIEGEL. If we compare them with the speech of the American President their constructive character, willingness and good will, as well as realistic comprehension of the situation, are in their favor. This becomes evident in comparison with the words of Reagan who is trying to convince the world today about his peaceful intentions, and only yesterday he was threatening Europe with limited nuclear war.

'Transparent Maneuver'

AU201214 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 81 p 7

[Dusan Rovensky Washington dispatch: "A Transparent Maneuver"]

[Text] In the last week of November Soviet-American talks on nuclear armament in Europe will open in Geneva. From the very beginning Reagan's administration has done nothing to ensure that these talks will be successful and has been stubbornly trying to prevent them resulting in a relaxation of military tension. This has been reaffirmed by the American President's press conference on Wednesday and the "proposals" made there. Official propaganda has been announcing for a relatively long time that these would be "significant initiatives." What is involved in reality, however, is nothing but a transparent maneuver designed to deceive the world public and to pacify resistance to the feverish pursuit of armament, which is becoming increasingly manifested even in the United States itself.

Reagan declared that the United States is willing not to deploy the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe if the Soviet Union dismantles its medium-range missile potential (missiles code named by NATO SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5). He further said that the United States proposes the start of Soviet-American talks on strategic arms next year. He claimed that the United States is ready to "reduce conventional military forces in Europe" and, finally, spoke about the Madrid meeting and the future conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, which is being proposed by the socialist countries.

Only someone who is not familiar with the actual background and with the aims of American foreign and military policy can assume that following a series of cold warlike and militaristic statements dealing in a hazardous manner with the crucial issue of the present -- the issue of war and peace -- Reagan has adopted a somewhat different tone. The reality, however, is different. There are no changes whatsoever in the policy of American ruling circles and the prospects of military detente are equally, if not more, distant than before.

Reagan has fired a salvo against the fundamental principle on which any future Soviet-American agreement pertaining to this area must be based, against the principle of equality and equal security. He demands that the Soviet Union should practically dismantle its medium-range missile potential, which has been built to achieve a balance of military forces. In other words, Reagan is trying as ever, but through different means, to ensure for the United States military preponderance, which would make it possible for him to implement American power interests. That is why not a single word was uttered at his press conference about the United States' willingness to negotiate about the reduction of forward-based nuclear systems -- the F-111 aircraft that carry nuclear weapons and are stationed on American aircraft carriers, which are also equipped with nuclear bombs. Reagan also said nothing about the nuclear potentials of the other NATO countries, potentials that are constantly growing. Not a word was said about the thousands of American missiles -- stationed, above all, on the FRG territory -- that have a range of 1,000 to 4,500 kilometers and thus the properties of strategic arms. In other words, the "proposals" that resounded at Reagan's press conference do not in the least open the path to an agreement. Truly effective would be such agreements that would also solve the question of the forward-based nuclear and missile weapons. However, this is something the United States does not want; it wants a nuclear potential that would make it possible for it to wage a nuclear war on the European continent.

Reagan -- as clearly transpired from his speech at the press conference -- wanted to present himself to the world public as a politician who is interested in maintaining peace. However, the world public will not let itself be deceived. The President's statements and especially his deeds since his inauguration have shown his true face. In his presidency the United States has reached the greatest military budget in its history; it was he who gave the order to produce neutron bombs, those barbarous weapons that have been condemned by all people who hold dear mankind's future in peace; and it was he who formulated attack-oriented, aggressive doctrines. In his case, the statement that a politician is recognized not by his words but by his deeds has double validity. At the press conference, Reagan expressed himself in favor of Soviet-American talks on strategic arms limitation. But who was it that thwarted the SALT-II treaty? Who keeps introducing ever new strategic arms and expanding the United States' strategic arsenal with the aim of thwarting any negotiations?

The gigantic propaganda campaign that has been stirred up around Reagan's press conference too, has elicited foreign observers' suspicion. The American ICA government agency relayed the conference free of charge for television companies in all Western countries. The start of the conference was fixed in such a way as to coincide with the prime television time in West European countries. Simply, the maneuver designed to deceive public opinion was fully ensured.

In his recent interview for the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL Leonid Brezhnev said the following about those who make "proposals" that mean nothing but only blot out the real substance of matters: "In reality, the authors of such 'proposals' most likely do not wish negotiations, let alone successful negotiations, but need to thwart these talks to obtain some sort of alibi for continuing their intended feverish pursuit of armament, for the planned transformation of Western Europe into a launching pad for their missiles against the USSR. They are preparing in advance a blind alley for the negotiations...."

This is the most telling response to the true motives of Reagan's declaration at the Washington press conference on Wednesday.

'Single Purpose' Ideas

AU201426 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Nov 81 p 7

[CTK Washington dispatch: "What the President Omitted"]

[Text] Yesterday, in the National Press Club in Washington, the American President, Ronald Reagan, made a speech, which was hailed in advance as a "highly significant foreign political initiative" of his administration.

He noted that the United States is ready to refrain from deploying new American nuclear cruise and Pershing-II missiles, planned for 1983, provided that the Soviet Union destroys all its intermediate-range SS-20 missiles and, at the same time, also the SS-4 and SS-5 missiles. He maintained that his proposal is motivated by the fact that the United States allegedly does not have any "equivalent deterrent device" against those Soviet missiles.

The President was deliberately silent about what the Pentagon intends to do with the American forward-based systems and did not even mention the British and French ballistic nuclear missiles zeroed-in on the East.

With all this, Reagan wanted somehow to substantiate his loquacious statements about some sort of a Soviet superiority in intermediate-range nuclear devices: He mentioned absurd data about a 6 to 1 correlation of forces, data that are at complete variance with undeniable facts confirming an approximate parity in these weapons in Europe between NATO and the USSR. In reality, the NATO countries have 986 carriers of intermediate-range missiles in Europe while the Soviet Union has 975 units of analogous weapons.

As regards the number of nuclear payloads released per launching, NATO already has a 50 percent preponderance. The United States' and its NATO allies' intermediate-range devices are made up of 700 American F-111, FB-111 and F-4 aircraft and of aircraft stationed on nuclear carriers, further of the British armed forces' 64 ballistic missiles and 55 bombers and, finally, of 98 missiles and 46 bombers belonging to France.

Reagan's administration pretends that the United States is willing to refrain from the deployment of new American missiles designed to achieve the United States and NATO's preponderance over the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries, but makes this contingent on the dismantling of Soviet missiles and strives, in fact, to exclude all American forward-based systems in Europe from the weapons to be subject to limitation. Thereby, it seeks to upset "through the back door" the present balance of forces in the United States' favor.

The ideas contained in the American president's speech thus have a single purpose: To liquidate the USSR's present defense potential in Europe while fully preserving the American forward-based systems as well as Great Britain's and France's nuclear submarines and nuclear bombers. The circumstance that it is being asserted, in fact, in advance that the American forward-based systems and the nuclear weapons of the United States' NATO allies are not to be subject of the planned Soviet-American talks in Geneva convincingly demonstrates that the United States' proposal is a pure-act of propaganda intended to steer the Geneva talks into a blind alley and to present Washington's position -- despite its feverish pursuit of armament and assertion of military preponderance -- as a "peace initiative" comparable with the "first step of man on the moon," as the President expressed himself.

BORDER CROSSING WITH POLAND TO BE CLOSED

AU211803 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 81 p 2

[RUDE PRAVO/CTK report in column "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..."]

[Text] The road border crossing Pomezni Boudy-Przelecz Okraj will be closed for the duration of the winter, that is, from 15 December 1981 until 15 April 1982. This has been announced by the CSSR Ministry of the Interior.

INFLUENCES BEHIND POLISH CRISIS CRITICIZED

Catholic Church Profits

LD201816 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] In Poland and the Polish crisis, the Catholic Church is a force in the background. In this connection we are reminded of a saying which is popular in Poland: When two are fighting, the third one wins and the fourth one has to pay for it. A cartoon in the Polish weekly POLITYKA shows two men engaged in a fierce fight. A smiling and chubby Catholic priest is looking on but in the background an emaciated woman is weeping over an almost empty shopping bag. This cartoon speaks of a topic which, to a considerable degree, is taboo in Poland.

Poland's crisis had directly been influenced by errors of the former leadership and deformations of socialism and also by the fact that the Krakow cardinal, Karol Wojtyla, had been elected pope and that he visited Poland as pope in 1979. This had strengthened the position and influence of the Catholic Church in Poland, caused a wave of chauvinism to rise and threw the door wide open to the activation of the country's antisocialist forces. And then the most extensive conflict in Poland's postwar history took its course. Clandestinely at first and then with increasing openness, Poland's priests began to channel dissatisfaction against the actual social system especially against the leading role of the United Workers' Party.

The Catholic Church stood at the cradle of the so-called Solidarity union. Together with the so-called Committee of Social and Political Self-Defense, it shaped its program. It also helped in the process of establishing the village Solidarity union, its objective being to strengthen the private sector in Poland's villages.

At the back of all this there was nothing but cool power calculations. All this is done by the Catholic Church using attractive slogans about moderation, tolerance, moral standards and Christian humanitarianism. The following example shows what kind of humanitarianism is involved: Over the past years some 700 churches have been built or expensively renovated in Poland. Another 600 new churches and other ecclesiastical buildings are to be constructed over the next 3 years. On the other hand, Poland's working men and their families are short of tens of thousands of housing units, hundreds of schools and nursery schools and dozens of hospitals. This, apparently, finds no place within the framework of Christian humanitarianism.

Only the Catholic Church and open enemies of socialism have gained from the deterioration of Poland's political and economic situation. Political concessions made to these forces have not brought the country any nearer to the end of the crisis. On the contrary, they have given it new dimensions while the living conditions of Polish workers and peasants are getting worse and worse.

'Illegal Meeting' Stopped

LD231004 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] The Polish security organs yesterday foiled an illegal meeting which was to have taken place in the flat of Jacek Kuron, a cofounder of the antisocialist grouping KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee].

From Warsaw, our permanent correspondent Frantisek Sojka sent this dispatch:

The aim of the meeting was to found an opposition political organization, called Self-Governing Republic Clubs -- Freedom-Justice-Independence, which was to play the role of a political party. Kuron and other enemies of socialism were intending to use it when attacking the constitutional order. This is shown, among other things, by the so-called declaration of the clubs which represents telling evidence that this illegal organization was to become the counterrevolutionary grouping whose aim was to liquidate the socialist order in Poland.

Among those present at the illegal meeting were members of the local leaderships of Solidarity. After the recent alleged dissolution, KOR was evidently not satisfied with its takeover of Solidarity and is now attempting to broaden its membership base, its counterrevolutionary activity, by means of founding an opposition political party.

DAILIES COMMENT ON BREZHNEV'S FRG VISIT

LD230944 Prague CTK in English 0805 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 23 Nov (CTK) -- Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the FRG, taking place in a highly complicated and difficult period of international relations, is clear evidence of the Soviet effort to revive detente and improve international relations, RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

Soviet-West German relations have, just as Soviet-American relations decisive influence on the atmosphere in Europe. The FRG, the foremost ally of the United States, has an opportunity to influence the Reagan government's "European policy", aimed at the interests of the socialist countries as well as the vital interests of the people of West Germany and other West European countries.

"There is no need for illusions about the position which will be taken by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the forthcoming talks. Both are tributary to 'Atlantic Solidarity'...

'Nevertheless, it is also a fact that the present SPD/FDP Bonn coalition was in power when the F.R.G. took in relations with the socialist countries new and more realistic positions than those of the previous 'Christian' parties," the paper said.

RUDE PRAVO added that by developing commercial contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the F.R.G. has alleviated the burden of its unemployment and expanded its energy resources.

The Slovak daily PRAVDA pointed at the fact that before Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the F.R.G. Washington has increased its pressure to influence the West German stand at the talks.

Wide publicity is given to President Reagan's ideas about disarmament, which is in his opinion to apply only to the Soviet Union. This unrealistic stand has also appeared in statements by West German officials, PRAVDA said and stressed that NATO should provide a positive answer to Soviet peace proposals.

FURTHER ON ALOIS INDRA VISIT TO CYPRUS

Meeting With Officials

LD202300 Prague CTK in English 1946 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Nicosia, 20 Nov (CTK) -- A delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, led by the Assembly's chairman Alois Indra, continued its visit here with talks with highest Cypriot state and political representatives Friday.

The Czechoslovak guests were received by Cypriot President Spiros Kiprianou, and Foreign Minister Nikolaos Rolandhis. Their talks were concentrated on cooperation between the two countries and international issues.

Later, the Czechoslovak delegation met with leading officials of political parties -- chairman of the Democratic Rally Glavkos Kliridhis, parliamentary representative of the Democratic Party Alexis Galanos, and general secretary of the Democratic Center Union of Cyprus Takis Khatzidhinitrioiu. They discussed the present situation in Cyprus, and the possibilities to solve the Cypriot issue.

In the afternoon, Alois Indra was received by Ezekias Papioannou, general secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL).

Delegation Returns 21 Nov

LD211636 Prague CTK in English 1530 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 21 Nov (CTK) -- A delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, led by its chairman Alois Indra, returned here Saturday after a four-day official visit to Cyprus.

The Czechoslovak delegation met during its visit with members of the House of Representatives of Cyprus and its President Yeoryios Ladas.

The delegation was also received by Cyprus President Spiros Kiprianou. Alois Indra thanked him for the friendly reception and expressed the conviction that the visit will contribute to the expansion of parliamentary relations, and development of bilateral relations in all spheres.

Indra Comments on Visit

LD220348 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] A delegation of the Federal Assembly led by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, returned home today after a 4-day visit to the Republic of Cyprus.

In an interview granted at the end of his trip, Comrade Alois Indra highly praised the results of the visit. He stressed that the Czechoslovak delegation met with friendly receptions everywhere and that the participants in all the meetings held exchanged views on international problems, above all on the situation in Europe and on the Cyprus issue. Comrade Alois Indra stated with satisfaction that we have either identical or very close views on these basic issues with our Cypriot friends. High on the list of the interests of the Cypriot representatives and of the people of the Republic of Cyprus is, understandably, the solution of the Cyprus issue. The Czechoslovak delegation assured the Cypriot representatives that Czechoslovakia will continue to support their just efforts for the transformation of Cyprus into an undivided, independent and nonaligned state. At the same time, Comrade Alois Indra noted the appreciation that has been expressed for Czechoslovakia's support in this vitally important question for Cyprus. He said that the participants in the meetings highly appraised the traditionally friendly Czechoslovak-Cypriot relations, to the development and the deepening of which contacts between the two parliaments contribute.

Comrade Alois Indra also said that the delegation was able to visit, in addition to Nicosia, Limassol, another Cypriot town where Czechoslovakia has a good name. This is surely because industry in this part of the island is developing contacts and cooperation with partners in Czechoslovakia.

In conclusion, Comrade Alois Indra expressed the conviction that the visit has contributed to the further development of Czechoslovak-Cypriot relations and to the strengthening of peace, international security and cooperation among nations.

UN REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKS ON AFGHANISTAN ISSUE

AU192021 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Nov 81 p 7

[CTK report: "The Debate on the 'Afghanistan Issue' Continues; at Variance With the Principles of the UN Charter"]

[Excerpts] New York (CTK) -- In the UN General Assembly on Monday, Stanislav Suja, CSSR's permament representative to the United Nations, said that the current debate about the situation in Afghanistan is at variance with the fundamental principles of the UN Charter and a misuse of this organization's authority and prestige.

He pointed out the significant successes achieved by the Afghan people, under the leadership of the Revolutionary Council headed by Babrak Karmal, in the country's consolidation, even though at the same time they must keep warding off the continuing intervention of reactionary forces, supported by world imperialism and hegemonism.

The Czechoslovak representative expressed the hope that the useful contacts which the UN secretary general and his personal representative had with Afghan and Pakistani representatives in New York will continue and become a foundation for a fruitful and constructive dialogue in accordance with the interests of Afghanistan and Pakistan, in the interest of peace in southwest Asia and throughout the world.

New Czechoslovak Initiative

S. Suja, CSSR's permanent representative to the United Nations, on Monday at the meeting of the UN General Assembly's Political and Security Committee submitted a draft resolution whose main task is to encourage the development of constructive cooperation among states, oriented toward the implementation of the goals of disarmament. The draft proceeds from the conviction that mutual cooperation among nations, which rests on firm and clear principles, is one of the necessary prerequisites of progress in the sphere of disarmament. It expresses, among other things, concern over the growing danger of nuclear military catastrophe, and points out that progress in talks on disarmament would be of great importance for resolving issues concerning economic and social development.

Further, it calls on states to refrain from actions jeopardizing or wrecking the disarmament talks, and not to make these talks contingent on the solution of issues which are not connected with them.

CPCZ'S HOFFMANN LEAVES FOR GENEVA TU MEETING

LD211506 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] A delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO] left Prague by air today for Geneva where it is to take part in the Fourth European Trade Union Conference. The delegation is led by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of URO. The conference will take place 23-24 November and it will deal with the influence of new technological methods on working conditions and the employment situation.

Also, Ibrahim Zakariyah, executive secretary general of the World Federation of Trade Unions, left Prague today for the European trade union conference in Geneva.

DISSIDENT ARRESTS, 'PHYSICAL' PRESSURE REPORTED

Former Party Officer Arrested

PM201641 Paris LE FIGARO in French 16 Nov 81 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Czechoslovakia: Dissident Arrested"]

[Text] (Zbynec Cerovsky), a former officer who was expelled from the party for condemning the 1968 Soviet intervention and who is also a signatory of the Charter 77 human rights document has been arrested on a charge of incitement to emigration.

Emigration Sought

NC211652 Paris AFP in English 1600 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 21 Nov (AFP) -- Some 20 Czechoslovak dissidents are seeking permission to emigrate in the wake of increased government repression, dissident sources said here today.

Pressure against the dissidents has sometimes been physical, the sources noted. Singer Karel Soukup, for example, suffered two beatings at the hands of police, as did at least three others, they said.

Zina Freundova, a member of the Committee for the Defense of Persons Unjustly Accused (VONS), meanwhile, was still recovering from an attack at her home by three unidentified persons.

Most of the would-be emigres have already received permission to enter from at least one country, and were now trying to complete formalities required by Czechoslovakia. This generally took two months for those considered "undesirable" by authorities here, the sources said.

In addition to physical pressure, moral pressure on dissidents has been stepped up, with a considerable increase in prison sentences and fresh legal action against religious opponents and participants in unofficial cultural events, the sources said.

CSL CENTRAL COMMITTEE ELECTS NEW CHAIRMAN

LD202146 Prague CTK in English 1718 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 20 Nov (CTK) -- The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] elected Friday Zbynek Zalman its chairman and Ladislav Kopriva its deputy chairman.

The election followed the recent deaths of Party Chairman Frantisek Toman and Honorary Chairman Josef Plojhar.

Zbynek Zalman stated at the session that the People's Party significantly contributes to implementation of the program of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has been endorsed by the entire National Front. It fully identifies itself with the conclusions of last month's 4th Session of the Communist Party Central Committee, and is prepared to help carry out the challenging tasks in the national economy.

In a resolution the Central Committee announced that the 3rd Congress of the Czechoslovak People's Party will take place May 21-22, 1982, and approved the action of People's Party bodies and organizations in implementing the conclusions of the 4th Session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

The people's party voiced full support to the peace policy of the Soviet Union. It strongly denounced the militarist course of the U.S. administration and its decision to produce and deploy new U.S. nuclear arms in Europe.

CPCZ APPROVES POSITION FOR MOSCOW CONFERENCE

LD201722 Prague CTK in English 1523 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 20 Nov (CTK) -- The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee approved here on Friday the line of the party delegation to the conference of international and ideological affairs secretaries of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries in Moscow on November 3-4, and adopted concrete measures to realize the approved conclusions of the session.

The Presidium appreciated the results of the session as an expression of the deepending cooperation of the Czechoslovak party with the fraternal parties and stressed the importance of the joint coordinated course of the socialist countries in the political, economic and ideological spheres.

SLOVAK UNION OF JOURNALISTS SCHEDULES CONGRESS

AU212003 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 81 p 2

[CTK report: "Congress of Slovak Journalists Convened"]

[Text] Bratislava, 18 Nov (CTK) -- At the proposal of its Presidium, the Wednesday session of the Central Committee of the Slovak Union of Jouranlists [SSN] scheduled the SSN congress for 26 and 27 March 1982 in Bratislava.

Bohus Travnicek, member of the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat and editor-in chief of PRAVDA, delivered at the session a report on "Economy and Education -- the Revolutionary Task of Our Journalism." He discussed in detail the mission of journalists to create a social climate favorable for fulfilling the party's socioeconomic program. What matters is a political approach to economic tasks and, at the same time, such a development of mass political and ideological work in general that helps to establish a creative atmosphere for a consistent fulfillment of economic tasks.

The resolution of the SSN Central Committee enjoins all union bodies to implement in the precongress period the inspirations for journalism from the conclusions of the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Session and the subsequent CPSL Central Committee session.

RUDE PRAVO COMMENTS ON ENERGY CUTBACKS

AU192058 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Nov 81 p 1

[Editorial: "More Economically With Fuels and Power"]

[Excerpts] In view of the development of the situation in fuel and power resources, unavoidable measures were adopted in the second half of the year, measures which strictly define fuel and power supplies. Many enterprises believe that those restrictions will not allow them to satisfactorily fulfill the planned tasks. This applies especially to enterprises where the rationalization of fuel and power consumption has not yet been stipulated as one of the crucial tasks, but has been dealt with only sporadically, when they were ordered to save, as in the case mentioned above. Such enterprises lack -- owing to the economic personnel's careless and almost haughty attitude -- not only experience but especially the necessary knowledge and ideas to effectively deal with the new situation. They literally lack an atmosphere of thrift and succumb, therefore, to helplessness. This is absolutely unfounded, as can be documented by the example of many enterprises that have thought through -- with foresight and a long-range outlook -- what must be done to fulfill the planned tasks even with a reduced volume of electricity, gas or other types of energy.

The demand to seek and find ways of substantially reducing production's energy consumption and to ensure the planned tasks with greater cost efficiency is a permanent reality. This is so because next year we cannot anticipate any improvement in the fuel-power balance but only the necessity to achieve additional savings. Like this year, next year as well these savings will not affect only the production sector but the entire national economy and some areas of public life. That is why we must rally all competent people for rationalizing consumption but, at the same time, mercilessly pillory any example of waste. Such phenomena as a stadium sparsely visited by a few hundred spectators floodlit at the time of the energy consumption peak with thousands of watts, are examples of ill-advised luxury.

Everywhere we must get rid of the notion that it will be possible to cover the development of production with constantly increasing imports of fuels and power, which was the case in the past. Such concepts are unrealistic and unfeasible. The growing needs can be covered, above all, only from our own resources. That is why their intensive development must be regarded as a priority task. But we must also take into account that this in itself will not resolve the fuel-power situation, that another important prerequisite for a balance between demand and the possibilities of meeting it is a substantial reduction of wasteful consumption. Because the intensification of our own resources represents a relative long-term process, it will be all the more important and urgent to make use of all ways leading to a better utilization of fuels and power.

BRIEFS

PITRA ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION -- A joint session of the Central Committee of the Cooperative Farmers Union and the Czech and Slovak committees of the union, enlarged by members of the auditing commissions and chairmen of district committees, continued in Prague today. The second day of deliberations was attended by Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, and Josef Nagr, federal minister of agriculture and food. The aim of the session was to discuss and work out the conclusions of the fourth session of the Central Committee of the party on the present tasks of the development of agriculture and food industry in the conditions of the Congress of Cooperative Farmers. In his address Comrade Frantisek Pitra, spoke about the importance of agricultural production in the satisfaction of the whole society's needs. He said that to import fodder and fuels in the present international situation and with the constant increase of prices on world markets is unthinkable and this is why it is necessary above all to find domestic sources. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 18 Nov 81 LD]

SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONFERENCE ENDS 20 NOV

LD202230 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1834 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee held its third conference in Berlin on 19 and 20 November.

The Politburo report was presented by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Comrade Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo and chairman of the State Planning Commission, presented the draft 5-year plan for the development of the GDR economy from 1981-1985 and the draft of the economic plan for 1982.

Twenty-nine comrades took part in the discussion.

The Central Committee endorsed the Politburo report presented by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and the paper presented by Comrade Gerhard Schuerer.

The Central Committee passed the drafts of the laws concerning the 5-year plan for the development of the GDR in the years 1981-1985, the economic plan for 1982 and the state budget for 1982 and passed them on to the People's Chamber for discussion and endorsement.

The Central Committee decided that, on the basis of the party statute (point 56) and of the election regulations of the Central Committee, the reports and reelection of the party group organizers, of their deputies, of the leaders of the departmental party organizations and of the leaders of the local organizations that are not subdivided into departmental party organizations will take place between 1 March and 17 April 1982.

KEY ISSUES OF UPCOMING GENEVA ARMS TALKS CITED

AU201647 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Nov 81 p 4

[Hartmut Koklmetz article: "Offers and Obstacles: Key Issues of the Negotiations Between the USSR and the United States on Medium-Range Missiles in Europe"]

[Text] Negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States about medium-range weapons in Europe will open in Geneva. As is well known, as early as on 6 October 1979, Leonid Brezhnev submitted in Berlin a specific proposal for negotiations which was, however, rejected by NATO and answered with the decision to deploy an additonnal 600 new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. But finally Washington could not but accept the proposed negotiations.

The following is another account of the key issues that are up for discussion in Geneva.

1— The Elements of the Existing Equilibrium

Up to the present day, NATO has maintained that the decision about the deployment of some 600 new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe allegedly only constitutes a step of complementary armament. At the same time, however, even leading Western statesmen have admitted an approximate equilibrium until a few weeks before the missile decision. The situation in Europe, FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt stated, for example, in an interview with the British weekly THE ECONOMIST on 6 October 1979, is marked by "the basis of a continuing balance of military forces which has emerged as the outcome of forces operating inside Europe as well as forces affecting Europe from the outside."

Nevertheless, only 2 months later the NATO council reached its decision on missiles. What changed in the existing equilibrium in those 9 weeks?

Nothing at all. Nor has anything changed up to the present day. Leonid Brezhnev backed this up with specific figures in a recent interview: The NATO countries, the United States, Great Britain and France, possess 986 nuclear medium-range weapons (missiles and aircraft) with ranges of 1,000 - to 5,000 km in Western Europe. The Soviet Union in turn has 975 such units on its European territory.

2-- The Problem of the Forward-Based Systems

Regardless of whether a nuclear charge is being delivered to its target by a missile or an aircraft -- the effect always remains identical. This is what sound common sense tells us. Nevertheless, NATO and the United States want to exclude the forward-based U.S. nuclear weapons [forward based systems] from the negotiations on medium-range weapons.

For certain reasons the Soviet Union -- unlike the United States -- has given priority to missile weapons over bomber aircraft. It has become evident at the SALT negotiations (on strategic weapons) that these two types of nuclear arms delivery vehicles are quite comparable and can be set off against each other. This naturally must also apply to medium-range weapons.

3-- The Chatter About the "Zero Solution"

Lately the "zero solution" has been referred to as the Western objective of the talks. According to the concept of its authors, this solution implies that NATO will forego the additional deployment of some 600 U.S. medium-range missiles if the Soviet Union dismantles all its medium-range missiles.

This request is nothing but a polished-up version of the view that the forward-based U.S. nuclear weapons should become taboo at any negotiations. It is first and foremost intended to deceive the peace movement in Western Europe: The chatter about the "zero solution," which constitutes a "plus" solution for the United States and a "minus" solution for the USSR, and therefore is unacceptable since it would, if such a solution is rejected, provide the basis for the deployment of the some 600 Pershing II and cruise missiles.

4-- The Change of the Strategic Situation

It was the SALT I and SALT II (not yet ratified by fault of the United States) that the military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and United States was stipulated by treaty. But the most aggressive quarters of U.S. imperialism did not want to put up with this parity nor do they want to put up with it now. This is why they have forced the missile decision on the NATO partners.

Whereas the SS-20 does not change anything in the strategic situation -- its range corresponds to that of the outdated SS-4 and SS-5 missiles and one or two outdated missiles are being scrapped for each one of the new missiles which carry three warheads -- the Pershing II and cruise missiles would create an entirely new situation. The United States would possess 600 nuclear weapon delivery vehicles in addition to the strategic arms limited by the SALT agreements, with which they could reach the territory of the Soviet Union. Moreover, whereas an intercontinental missile requires 20-30 minutes to reach its target -- hence there is time for location, for an understanding via the hot line and, in case of need, for the required defense measures -- a medium-range missile reaches its targets in merely 4-6 minutes!

In order to clarify what the new U.S. medium-range weapons in Western Europe mean for the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev pointed out the following: "Let us only recall," he stated in the aforementioned interview, "what the U.S. reaction was when a few dozens Soviet missiles were to be deployed in Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government. There was a hue and cry in Washington about a lethal danger to the United States." A tremendous danger actually exists now for the USSR since it is not a few dozen but almost 600 U.S. missiles that are involved.

5-- The Concept of Limited War

Since the Soviet Union established military balance with the United States, nuclear arms as the instrument of the imperialist policy of threat and blackmail have become a blunt sword. And as a means of warfare, their use would be suicidal. That is to be changed with the Pershing II and cruise missiles. For -- so the cynical, simple calculation of the Pentagon strategists goes -- a nuclear weapon strike from Western Europe would limit the (inevitable) counterstrike to Europe, sparing the United States.

There is also something else the most aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism expect from the new medium-range missiles: The short flying time is to make it possible to make a surprising and above all disarming first strike against the Soviet Union so that it would not have a chance for a retaliatory strike.

How mad such sandbox games are, Leonid Brezhnev demonstrated in his answer to the question of a PRAVDA correspondent: Whatever power the attacker may have, and whatever method he may use to unleash a nuclear war, he will not be able to accomplish his goals. Retaliation is inevitable."

6-- Necessary Principle: Equal Security

The Soviet Union demands neither preferential treatment nor a special position, but it rightly demands that its security needs be measured by the same yardstick as those of the United States and the other NATO countries, for only the principle of equality and equal security can lead to success in the negotiations on medium-range weapons in Europe too.

Leonid Brezhnev reaffirmed the constructive attitude of the Soviet Union, characterized by a readiness to compromise, when he said in his recent press interview: "Given a reasonable attitude of the United States, if the NATO plans for new nuclear missiles were given up, we would be ready to reduce the overall number of Soviet missiles. I add: We would be ready to conclude an agreement on very essential reductions on both sides."

Time will tell whether the United States is ready to accept this serious offer.

PEACE COUNCIL DELEGATION MEETS U.S. POLITICIANS

AU201250 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] Washington (ADN) -- The talks which the GDR Peace Council delegation, currently visiting in the United States, met with prominent American figures in Washington this week concentrated on questions of disarmament and the prevention of the danger of a nuclear war. The delegation had meetings with Paul Warnke, former head of the U.S. delegation to the SALT negotiations and with Adm Gene Larocque from the Center for Defense Studies.

FRG CITIZEN DETAINED FOR BORDER VIOLATION 17 NOV

AU201220 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Nov 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On 17 November a man violated the GDR state border in the Oelsnitz area. The border violator was detained. He does not have any identification papers with him. According to his own statements he is FRG citizen Gotthilf Siegel.

The responsible GDR organs are examining the identity of the person and the details of the border violation.

REAGAN PROPOSAL FURTHER ANALYZED, CRITICIZED

Basic Facts 'Ignored'

AU201117 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Nov 81 p 2

[Peter Vajda article: "The Tone Changes, The Line Does Not"]

[Text] With his remarks on Wednesday -- according to the first commentary of NBC television -- Reagan intended to counteract the vehement protest that erupted in Europe in the wake of U.S. statements on NATO missile plans and a limited nuclear war. At the same time, the timing of the speech preceding Leonid Brezhnev's Bonn visit was not accidental. According to indications, West European criticism -- and mounting domestic criticism as well -- has led to the decision in Washington, after great debates, that it is time for a change of tone. The President, who has sharply attacked the Soviet leaders previously, built his present speech on two letters he has sent to Leonid Brezhnev. However, the change of tone does not mean a change of line, and, thus, leading representatives of the U.S. middle-class press have every reason to suspect that what is involved is primarily a propagandistic step, that the cabinet is making a proposal that is unacceptable to the other side from the very beginning. Truly: Regarding its content, the first point reads like an ultimatum. It goes even considerably further than the demands made at the time of the adoption of the NATO missile plan. The proposal ignores basic facts: If we bear in mind that NATO intermediate-range weapons that can reach the Soviet Union from West Europe's land and sea area and we compare their number with armaments of similar range deployed in the Soviet Union's European area, we will find that a relative parity exists in Europe today between NATO and the Soviet Union. The U.S. proposal demands that the Soviet Union relinquish all those weapons that offset existing NATO weapons of this kind, while the nuclear arsenal of the United States, as well as of Britain and France would remain intact. To put it plainly: This demand is aimed at upsetting the European military balance.

The second point leaves open the fundamental question of whether the United States is prepared to enter into negotiations on strategic arms while preserving all the positive elements laid down in the SALT agreements that have been concluded. Although the third point touches on generalities, it demands primarily Soviet reductions, which again would lead to disrupting the relative parity of strength that has developed on the continent. As for the fourth point: The U.S. position of underrating disarmament matters and refusing to engage in collective discussions on them is obviously no longer tenable. Washington continues to give specific issues a wide berth, however, such as responding to the question as to what genuine steps it, itself, is prepared to take if the Soviet Union extends confidence-building measures to its entire European area. To be sure, creating confidence is not a question of general desires, but specific steps.

It is understandable that, after all that, a considerable portion of the political analysts in Washington regard it as unlikely that Reagan's proposals can take the wind out of the sails of West European protests.

Washington, 18 November 1981.

Zagladin Remarks Cited

LD201720 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1615 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] The American President's proposals are in part unacceptable to the Soviet Union and in part too general, said Zagladin, the first deputy chief of the International Department of the Soviet party Central Committee. He said that Leonid Brezhnev had received President Reagan's letter. The Soviet side would give the letter careful study and would respond officially soon.

Speaking on the tone of the message, Zagladin said it was noteworthy that this was the first time since assuming office that President Reagan had not mentioned the need for gaining military superiority but rather had put forward certain proposals for lessening confrontation. This in itself would be a welcome pact except for the fact that the goals were the same. This is because, were the Soviet Union to destroy, under American supervision, its missiles deployed in Europe, its medium-range nuclear missiles would number fewer than 500, while NATO would be left with almost 1,000.

Reagan 'Gift' Is Requirement

LD201204 Budapest MTI in English 1049 GMT 20 Nov 81

[By MTI editor Sandor Pirityi]

[Text] Budapest, 20 Nov (MTI) -- The President of the United States has again made a speech which was apprently not meant for the historians because it ignored the facts of the past, nor for the politicians because its arguments contradicted one another, nor for the soldiers because they see clearly in the matter of strategic realities. The speech of President Reagan, which the hand-picked audience of the Washington National Press Club most certainly warmly applauded, was meant for those who had expected him to say exactly what he said, that the United States was an ardent champion of peace, independence, freedom and disarmament.

There are American forces and bases all over the world, in dozens of states, and hundreds of formidable American warships are cruising waters thousands of miles away from the home coasts, American strategic airforce are patrolling the skies over Europe, Asia, Africa and the world oceans and scores of military blocs served or have been serving the strategy openly proclaimed by Washington: encirclement of the Soviet Union. And then comes Reagan and says: "The United States, when it could have dominated the world with no risk to itself, made no effort whatsoever to do so..."

Who and what forces foiled the abmitions of world dominance of the United States will not be questionable for anyone by now. Questionable, however, is the viability of the argument which Reagan put like this: "Our policies have resulted in the longest European peace in this century". American policies would have resulted in the shortest ever European war, had the convincing military force of the Warsaw Treaty not stood to face the NATO, the American nuclear weapons and the forward-based American missile-air-nuclear forces.

There is one point in Reagan's speech which deserves attention. It sounds like this: "No NATO weapons, conventional or nuclear, will ever be used in Europe except in response to attack..." If this were really so why was not Washington willing to accept the Soviet proposal that the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act renounce in a solemn declaration the use as first of either nuclear or traditional weapons? Why is the United States seeking military supremacy in global and regional -- among others, in European -- sense? Perhaps 'merely' out of political grounds? Perhaps it 'only' wants to dictate to the socialist community, to the progressive developing countries and national liberation movements?"

Reagan spoke about "restraint" and "balance", and called the NATO military plans "responsible", as if Washington had not approved in 1978 comprehensive NATO armament schemes for the next one and a half decades, as if the United States had ratified SALT-2, as if with the 1978 December decision the Atlantic bloc had not sought to achieve such a "first-strike ability" with which it could wreck the land-based retaliatory potential of the Soviet Union in a matter of minutes...

Reagan claims that his new strategic armament program "will remedy the neglect of the past decade and restore the eroding balance on which our (the United States') security depends". One can declare strategic balance unilaterally, but to have it accepted, one needs negotiations. And this is exactly what has been done at the SALT-2 talks between 1972 and 1979, and presumably President Carter did not sign the SALT documents stipulating balance with meticulous accuracy, in his own name only.

Before putting forward his "proposals" in his Wednesday speech, the American President was trying to paint a bewildering picture about Soviet military supremacy in every area imaginable. Ignoring the elementary facts of geography, he, for example, called the Soviet Union a "historically land power". However, he focused his arguments on the well-known Soviet intermediate range missiles which, so he said, threaten Western Europe and to which "at present...there is no equivalent deterrent..." First of all, the Soviet intermediate range vehicles are threatening not Western Europe but the forward-based American weapons systems deployed there which Washington deployed in Western Europe exactly to threaten from a close proximity the Soviet Union and its European allies. Secondly, the Soviet intermediate range vehicles were deployed not before but after the American forward-based nuclear systems and formed an "equivalent deterrent force" exactly in their face. Speaking about "theatre" balance, it is exactly the forward-based American systems (without the "Eurostrategic" weapons to be deployed from 1983) and the Soviet intermediate range missiles and planes that make the balance which incidentally should be preserved at an ever lower level and not upset, in order to that the principle of equal security prevails.

Washington would obviously like to create a situation where its forward-based European nuclear systems would enjoy complete freedom of action and "guaranteed impunity", to which, however, the Soviet side will hardly lend a helping hand, not to mention that the United States demands the unilateral dismantling of already existing Soviet weapon systems in return for cancelling the deployment American weapons due in two years' only. It is obvious that the "zero option" can be one only: If the NATO strategists object the SS-4, SS-5 and exceedingly the SS-20, these can be eliminated with simultaneously liquidation of the forward-based American nuclear forces, the British and French "Eurostrategic" capacity. The promised cancellation of deployment of the Pershing-2 and the land launch cruise missiles is no gift for the Soviet Union but an elementary requirement of strategic logics and political soberness.

Patience Needed

LD202324 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] We shall still need a lot of patience with Ronald Reagan, because he was elected 1 year ago, but the new American President spoke this week for the first time about practical arms limitation plans. It is also true that he formulated one-sided American goals which are thus unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

Well, the American President, in his first year in office, constantly cursed and threatened the Soviet Union and recently, with his plan for a type of limited nuclear war, he estranged himself further from the millions in Western Europe, too.

After such precedents, it is not surprising that Schmidt, the chancellor in Bonn, praised Reagan in a particular way: I am satisfied with the President's speech, because he wants to negotiate with the Soviet Union.

The London TIMES, generally Reagan's enthusiastic backer, this time praised the governments of Western Europe, because, wrote the paper, they perseveringly pursued efforts to make Reagan understand what damage he is doing to NATO. They had to reconcile themselves that the new people in Washington are immeasurable ignorant, and that the American diplomats, who tried to paint the picture in slightly different colors, were so intimated from time to time that they kept quiet: thus, the TIMES.

Let us be realists, this time. The fact that the aggressive American President this time at least spoke about negotiation and disarmament is heartening, particularly if we consider that this time he did not want to link this with commodities, as in the past. He did not say that we shall only negotiate if the Soviet Union does this and that in world politics, if, for example, it abandons its role in Afghanistan.

It is natural that the Soviet Union quickly and decisively rejected the absurdly one-sided American proposals. It was also natural when Zagladin, one of the CPSU spokesmen and Brezhnev's adviser, stated today: The American proposals are unacceptable in part, and too general in part. Yet these will be carefully examined.

Let us disregard for the time being the propaganda elements of the Reagan proposals. Now we must content ourselves with the fact that the two great powers, after a break of several years, are finally resuming genuine negotiations. The first public proposals suggest very little as to the outcome of these. We need patience, great patience.

Yet, the situation would be much more disturbing if the Soviet peace proposals were to remain completely without response, and if the process were not even to begin which, as with all diplomatic negotiations, can lead to agreement based on mutual concessions.

Zero-Option 'Propaganda Maneuver'

LD221142 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0710 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Wednesday, when President Reagan outlined in his speech, which he called an historical message, the proposals of his adminstration for the Soviet-American missile negotiations which begin on the last day of the month, analysts of the international press -- whether or not they agree with the contents of the speech -- have queried precisely the intention. On the one hand, why has the White House made public what it did, exactly now? On the other hand, what was its intention? We shall try to answer this in the following minutes. Here is Istvan Kulcsar:

Since the inauguration of President Reagan, his backers and colleagues have been asking and encourageing him to expound, in a public speech, the system of his foreign policy views, to give a comprehensive, international policy program, and, following the example of Carter and his other predessors, announce a Reagan doctrine. Thus far the President had not undertaken this. In his speech on Wednesday at the National Press Club, which was surrounded by great publicity, he similarly did not give a comprehensive foreign policy program; true, he spoke about perhaps the most important issue of our time, disarmament, arms reductions.

He outlined the proposals which he had sent to President Brezhnev in the form of a message. U.S. commentators, before and since the speech, have focused attention almost exclusively on the first proposal. This is the so-called zero-option. According to this, the Soviet Union would have to dismantle its medium-range missiles located in the territory of East Europe, and in exchange for this the United States would not deploy similar missiles in West Europe -- that is, the number of missiles would be zero.

The U.S. commentators also said: The leadership of the United States knew in advance that its proposal, which at first glance is so attractive, is unacceptable to the Soviet Union, since it would leave untouched the French and English missiles -- which similarly belong to NATO -- as well as the nuclear missiles located in U.S. bombers and submarines stationed in Europe, with which the territory of the Soviet Union is fully within reach. In this manner, in the instance of the implementation of the proposal, significant NATO superiority would take shape in Europe.

Since the U.S. leadership knew that its proposal would be unacceptable, the speech cannot be judged other than a propaganda maneuver -- even analysts who sympathize with the administration's foreign policy state this. Washington is trying, with this, to counterbalance the expected effect of President Brezhnev's visit to Bonn which begins today, and with this it wants check the anti-American and antinuclear weapon disposition in West Europe, the New York TIMES stated. At the same time, the U.S. conception strengthens Chancellor Schmidt's negotiating position, the Washington POST surmises, according to which the West German head of government himself asked Reagan to announce the zero-option.

The other three proposals of the U.S. President, the reduction in traditional forces in Europe, the strategic -- not limitations but reductions -- talks, the renewal of START instead of SALT, and the convening of a European conference to eliminate the risk of an unexpected attack, essentially do not contain anything new. Anyway, the Soviet-U.S. negotiations will be renewed in Geneva on 30 November, and it can only be hoped that the U.S. delegation will not arrive there with more propaganda proposals. We have confidence, writes the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR in a leading article, that the members of the U.S. and Soviet negotiating delegations will remember the lessons of the past, when they again begin to seek the path leading out of the senseless nuclear arms race.

NEMETH HEADS MSZMP DELEGATION TO MOSCOW

LD230950 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] A Hungarian party delegation, headed by Karoly Nemeth, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, has gone to Moscow. The delegation has been invited by the CPSU Central Committee.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN MARJAI DEPARTS FOR POLAND

LD221618 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] Jozsef Marjai has left for Warsaw. The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers is also chairman of the Hungarian section of the two countries' economic cooperation committee. On this occasion he is making a trip in response to an invitation from the Polish Government.

AUSTRIA'S CHANCELLOR KREISKY CONCLUDES VISIT

Talk With Kadar 20 Nov

LD201416 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Janos Kadar and Pal Losonczi have received Bruno Kreisky. The MSZMP Central Committee first secretary had a discussion with the Austrian federal chancellor in parliament house about international political issues, chiefly about European security and cooperation as well as about Hungarian-Austrian relations. Gyorgy Lazar, head of government, also took part in the meeting.

Departure Press Conference

LD202140 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 Nov (MTI) -- The Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky called the relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Austrian Republic smooth, good and friendly at a press conference held in Budapest on Friday before his departure. Kreisky added: "...These relations show an example how two states with different political and social systems can coexist peacefully".

At the press conference held in Budapest Hotel Intercontinental the Austrian federal chancellor said about his talks with Hungarian leaders: "On questions of the international relations there are no major differences of views between the two countries. Hungary and Austria are especially interested -- one can say, they consider it a vital interest -- in the continuation of the policy of detente."

"The world events affecting adversely the international climate", Kreisky added, "do not necessarily have to influence the development of our bilateral relations. Efforts are needed on both sdies to promote the economic relations, alhtough there is no doubt that what emerges in the world as a crisis of the economy, affects our countries also". Speaking about the subjects of his official talks, Bruno Kreisky said: "It is my definite impression that the Hungarian economy will continue to develop according to the principles which have been decisive in the development of the past years, that is, the Hungarian economic policy promises logical continuation of the course its has followed thus far.

Lazar at Departure

LD201530 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Bruno Kreisky has left Budapest. The Austrian federal chancellor and his entourage were seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Premier Gyorgy Lazar.

Kadar Interviewed on Visit

AU211541 Vienna Domestic Television Service in German 2102 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Paul Lendvai "exclusive interview" with MSZMP First Secretary Janos Kadar in Budapest on 20 November -- recorded, Kadar answers in Hungarian with superimposed German translation]

[Excerpt] [Question] The positive assessment of Hungarian-Austrian relations coincides with the deterioration of the international situation. How do you judge the main trend in international relations?

[Answer] Following the years of detente, elements of tension have developed in the past 1 or 2 years. And that is harmful and dangerous. I do not want to talk about the causes of this development, because this is a controversial question. We feel that the decisive element in this is NATO's armament program. At any rate the situation is disquieting and dangerous, the more so since there is not only the danger of a great armament wave, but also the fact that in the given circumstances certain regional problems, trouble spots such as the Middle East, are dangerous because they are incalculable. That is the general characteristics of the situation. I do not want to go into details now. Our position is known. We are supporters of peaceful coexistence, and that is why we are working to preserve the achievements of detente and to strengthen peace and make it lasting. That aim can be pursued in many different ways, but I believe that a community of fate for all European peoples is here. We must make every effort to ensure that we can consolidate and further develop the fruits of the Helsinki process, which I have never considered as an end but as a beginning and which has been fruitful for the peoples of Europe.

I am very glad about the fact that in the just concluded exchange of opinions I gained the impression that we have the same views about Helsinki, and that Chancellor Kreisky and Austria belive that we have to work for European security and for detente.

[Question] Thus, small countries can also play a certain role?

[Answer] Well, small states and countries has been a current topic lately. I have come to the conclusion that the potential of small countries is a rather peculiar one, because a small country can cause big calamities with which the whole world has to deal. But a small country, or evn two small states, cannot (?influence) the great worries of the world, among other things because they would not even be entrusted with these problems. However, they can do a lot for a good cause, and in the right direction. And if I may be permitted to draw attention to our partners in our talks today, then Austria's neutral status offers a certain additional opportunity here. And Hungary, too, is in a position allowing -- within the framework of its commitments in the alliance as well as in cooperating with its capitalist partners -- it to raise its voice in favor of the cause of detente, and to demand this process.

[Question] Where do you see the main achievements of the past 25 or, if you want, the past 35 years, and what do you regard as the main weaknesses of Hungary's policy?

[Answer] What I regard as perhaps the greatest achievement is the fact that in the sense of socialist development we have succeeded in ideologically clarifying what had to be clarified, and that a broad consensus regarding socialist aims has developed in our country. What we describe in our political terminology as socialist national unity -- that is what I regard as our greatest achievements. Our country has also developed with regard to its society -- that is, there has not merely been a consolidation. Such an important development question as the socialist transformation of agriculture has been resolved. And a wide range of observers regard this as a success. And the country has been strengthened by it.

Naturally, I include in these successes the changes in economic management. What we primarily want here is to get rid of a certain rigidity and to acquire a certain flexibility, and to make more room for creative energy. By that, we mean that the independence of enterprises must be increased. All this I consider as important as regards our achievements, but all this can also of course be judged by the development of our production structure and by the increase in our living standard.

[Question] Now let us turn to the reverse side of the coin. What do you regard as a main weakness?

[Answer] People say that I am taking a rather realistic view of things. As far as I am concerned, I regard the socialist system as the qualitatively best of the existing systems, but I know this system well and I also know its weak points, which indeed make me very sad. Such weaknesses are, for example, the slowness in decisionmaking, and then the fact that only now are we beginning to learn to properly manage things in the true sense of the word, to not only utilize the country's potential but also every production plant, every enterprise in the country's interest. All that people are learning to do only now. The process is advancing not so badly, but there is still a lot we have to do. Those are our weaknesses. Then I could also mention that in the capitalist world there are also compulsions urging people on. In a certain sense our system has a different nature. I dare say it is more humane. Such compulsions for example as fear of unemployment, or a cpaitalist's fear of going bankrupt do not exist in our country. But what should be there in its place, the socialist awareness, the feeling that I am, so to speak, the landlord -- that has developed only very slowly so far, and that is what I regard as our main weakness.

And we believe that the economy can be made more flexible and more efficient by changing the economic management and that the interests of individuals and of the enterprise staffs should be promoted whereever possible. And it seems to us that we need the awareness, the patriotic feelings -- but it does not hurt if other incentives enter into it as well.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO MEET 27 NOVEMBER

LD202106 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov (PAP) -- The Political Bureau resolved to convene the 6th PUWP CC plenary meeting on November 27 to discuss the PUWP tasks in overcoming the economic crisis, implementing the economic reform and the 1982 socio-economic plan.

The Political Bureau today examined preliminary assumptions of the 1982 socio-economic plan.

'ILLEGAL GATHERING' FOR NEW PARTY PREVENTED

LD221955 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] According to the information supplied by the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on the afternoon of 22 November representatives of public order agencies prevented the holding of an illegal gathering summoned in Warsaw in the apartment of Jacek Kuron, cofounder of the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] organization. The organizers of the gathering did not have the city's administrative authorities' consent, required by the regulations of the law, for holding such a gathering.

The objective of the gathering was to set up an organization of a political character, which was to adopt the name Self-Governing Republic Clubs -- Freedom-Justice-Independence [Kluby Rzeczypospolitej Samorzadnej -- Wolnosc-Sprawiedliwosc-Niepodleglosc]. The organization, while aspiring to the role of a political party, according to the principles of the program of Jacek Kuron and his associates intended to start action against the constitutional system of the Polish People's Republic.

After disbanding the illegal gathering the officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs carried out actions to secure evidence in the investigation proceedings against Kuron and other active participants in the antistate group. Among other things, the text of a founding declaration of the planned organization was seized by the officials. The declaration constitutes a well-developed platform of a political grouping hostile to the state. The few scores of people who took part in the gathering, which included representatives of Solidarity's regional authorities, were requested to show their identification papers. An investigation of the case is in progress.

The aforementioned communique suggests a few conclusions. First, the attempt to create the so-called Self-Governing Republic Clubs -- Freedom-Justice-Independence had as its intention forming an organization of the political party type which would act contrary to the legal and constitutional order of our state and which would strike at the principles of the socialist system and international alliances. This is fully confirmed by the text of the founding declaration of the planned organization. This organization would have been formed at places of residence and places of employment.

Second, the concept of forming such an organization results from new tactics of the enemies of socialism following the formal disbanding of KOR. They are now attempting to create a new, and in a way unofficial, organization which would have a broader base. This is a plan of creating a political party with an antisocialist orientation. This concept is obviously linked with the political ambitions of Jacek Kuron. He has been striving for quite some time to impose his antisocialist course upon Solidarity, the union which has millions of working people in its ranks, having in mind the idea of pushing the union toward confrontation with the authorities and the state's legal and constitutional order. A pretext [for forming the new organization] is performing the alleged self-governing activities which were to include all sectors of social and economic life. This is a peculiar form of creation of counterauthorities.

Third, the organizers of the gathering wish to form their own program and decisionmaking center. It is interesting that this gathering was attended by regional authorities of Solidarity. The aim of the meeting was to create certain faits accomplis, in particular because of the fact that the moment chosen to create the clubs coincides with the lively debates in our country, which also involve Solidarity, on the subject of creating the front of national accord. Solidarity has been invited to take part in the front. The intention to form an organization of an antisocialist orientation strikes at the nature of such an accord and creates conflict situations which threaten such an accord. In a period when all forces must be united to overcome the crisis, undertaking inflammatory actions is even more harmful.

Fourth, one's attention is drawn to the obvious interest of the clubs' organizers in gaining international attention as quickly as possible. Behind this was an idea to reach to the listeners in our country quickly through the well-known radio stations which wage psychological warfare against People's Poland.

Fifth, the authorities, by taking preventive measures in accordance with current regulations against the creation of the new illegal political organization, did not have as their aim to discriminate against or repress any kind of innocent debating club or to limit the right to speak out on different political views. The authorities' actions constitute one of the steps aimed at preventing a new party which in its program would question the legal and constitutional order.

POLITICAL PRISONERS COMMITTEE LABELED ILLEGAL

LD220944 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] The prosecutor general reports that the main board of the Radom NSZZ Solidarity has convened in Radom a national conference of the so-called Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. The conference began yesterday and will resume today. The committees are illegal structures. With reference to such committees, a decision on their activities was issued on 21 August of this year by the mayor of Warsaw. A ban on the activity of the regional committee in Radom was promulgated by the Radom Voivodship authorities in a 14 August decision. These decisions have the force of law. The convening and holding of a congress is therefore an act in contravention of the current administrative and penal law, an action directed against the socialist state.

At the same time it must be pointed out that this kind of activity in Poland's exceptionally difficult situation strikes at the consolidation and development of the idea of a front of national accord, to which society attaches such great hopes. There is no social justification for the committees' activity, because no one is in prison for his convictions in Poland. The trial which has been described as political, of Robert Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szeremietiew and Tadeusz Stanski, the arrested leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, concerns concrete [words indistinct] accusations of crimes, and not their views or political convictions.

Employees of the voivodship administrative office and the Prosecutor General's Office have gone to the Radom conference of the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and have told the members that the assembly is illegal in the light of the regulations in force and have informed them of the legal consequences of continuing it. The Radom Voivodship prosecutor has started an inquiry into the matter.

GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY TALKS 17-19 NOV REPORTED

Talk Results 17-18 Nov

LD201856 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1610 GMT 20 Nov 81

[From the "Trade Union Magazine -- 51st Edition" program; by Andrzej Jelenski]

[Excerpts] As you probably remember, last Tuesday, 17 November, the government-Solidarity talks resumed after a break of many weeks. In the plenary talks, representatives of the

Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs were headed by Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, and the delegation of the National Commission [KK] Presidium of NSZZ Solidarity was led by the deputy chairman of the union, Stanislaw Wadolowski. Minister Ciosek, welcoming the representatives of the union, said this renewed meeting round a common table constitutes a good forecast for achieving agreement, adding that the government is for full agreement on the most important issues for the nation. Next, Stanislaw Wadolowski said: The topics we want to discuss are known. The press has published them. They should concern matters linked with the union's concept for a social national economy council; union concepts of civic control; Solidarity's access to the mass media; economic reform; local self-management and issues linked with the closing term of office of People's Councils and also problems of law and order, judicial reform, the system of social control of price reform and determination of the principles of compensation.

Minister Ciosek then presented a proposal to set up five working groups. The first should concern itself with issues linked with the concepts of a social national economy council, with [word indistinct] social control commissions and with the known government concept of a mixed commission. The second group should examine the problems of measures to oppose the effects of winter and the starting of long-term undertakings to stabilize the economy. Problems of prices and the system of consultations and compensation should be discussed by the third team. The fourth group should enter into talks on Solidarity's attitude to the mass media, and the fifth group should concern itself with problems of the observance of law.

A document presented by Solidarity, concerning the stance of the KK Presidium on the issue of national accord, undoubtedly exerted influence on the discussions. Minister Ciosek stated that the document should undoubtedly have been presented prior to the negotiations; then it would have been possible to take an appropriate stand on the issue. He also added that it contains many points of agreement but also many differences of opinion between Solidarity and the government. But, it seems, that it is good and interesting enough for agreement to be able to be reached in the immediate future on particular issues.

The deliberations lasted until 0300 on 18 November. Then, Marek Brunne, Solidarity press spokesman, in the presence of an adviser from the government press spokesman's office, Mr Jozef (Oleksa), read a joint final communique: On the 17th of this month, talks were held in Warsaw between representatives of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and a delegation of the KK Presidium of NSZZ Solidarity.

It has been decided to undertake working talks in teams to discuss a social national economy council, a mixed commission, and methods of social control in the sphere of the economy, reform of the economy, emergency measures to overcome the crisis and to alleviate the effects of winter, access to the mass media, and local conflicts and ways of settling them. On the remaining matters, and in particular law and order and local self-management, it has been decided to continue discussion in the next plenary meeting. The KK delegation presented the stance with which the union goes into the talks on achieving national accord.

As for union access to the mass media, the date of the meeting will be fixed today [words indistinct] between the two interested central representations, Minister Urban and Jan Waszkiewicz, KK Presidium member responsible for union information matters.

The date of the next plenary meeting has not yet been fixed.

19 Nov Discussions

LD201936 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1610 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Dispatch by correspondent Andrzej Jelenski]

[Text] Talks between the working teams of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and of the National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity lasted until the

late hours of the night yesterday in the office building of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw. The teams were led, on the government side, by Professor Jerzy Bafia and, on the Solidarity side, by Grzegorz Palka, member of the KK Presidium.

These teams were appointed to examine the problems of a social council of the national economy, of a mixed commission, the matter of social control in the sphere of the economy and also matters pertaining to the economic reform. The discussion, which lasted many hours, centered around the concept of the statute, role, function and position -- taking into account our state system -- of the social council of national economy which Solidarity has proposed.

The union side presented an outline of the principles and procedure governing the setting up of such a council. In the view of Solidarity such a council, which would be a body independent of the government and representing a broad cross-section of the public, should be set up through the cooperation between trade union organizations and people representing creative circles, with the church guaranteeing support for this matter. In a nutshell, this should be a representative and not executive body. Its basic function would be to hold consultations over undertakings of the government in the economic sphere and to sound out opinions on these undertakings by presenting government decisions for acceptance by the public.

In presenting the need to appoint a social council of the national economy the Solidarity representatives gave as the reason for this the need, as it was put, to lend credibility to the actions of the government. This is why one should set up a body which would be able to convince the public -- and not only members of the Solidarity union -- of the need to make sacrifices in order to pull the country out of the crisis it finds itself in.

The government team said this kind of reasoning was insufficient by stating that the opinions expressed about the governement cannot be justified on the merits of the matter in a way that is based on the facts. Professor Jerzy Bafia stressed that it is not possible to prove the thesis which in the view of Solidarity seems to be the fundamental prerequisite for appointing the council, namely that the government is not capable of pulling the economy out of the crisis. Professor Bafia also added that one cannot decide a priori whether such a council would gain credibility among the public.

During the hours-long discussion matters such as the following were also considered: the procedure for appointing representatives of the council. The government side stated that in this area all the principles of democracy must be fulfilled. Other issues were the responsibility of the council, the place it would occupy in the system of social consultation, chiefly between the government and the trade unions, and also its legal status and powers. Solidarity, and this is worth stressing, abandoned -- as against the stance adopted in October -- the right of the council to veto government decisions.

I observed the negotiations over a period of many hours and the obvious conclusion suggests itself that both sides around the table can see the need for further elucidation regarding whether or not to set up a social council of the national economy and to look for other possible solutions in the sphere of social control. What is very important and significant is the fact that representatives of the Solidarity union are putting forward the appointment of the council as an offer to the government and not as a demand. One must assume that in the final analysis this will make it possible to analyze this problem thoroughly and to take all aspects of this matter into account.

The fact that the talks will be continued might also gladden one. The decision in this matter will be made today. The negotiations were held in an atmosphere of calm and objectivity and this too has an optimistic ring to it.

LE MONDE Previews Talks

PM201341 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Nov 81 pp 1, 3

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Poland in Search of a 'National Accord'"]

[Text] Warsaw -- The idea of a modus vivendi was launched by General Jaruzelski, Mr Walesa and Monsignor Glemp who reached agreement on holding these discussions at their meeting on 4 November. Although the first two men deemed it wise not to take part in the opening session and although the church is not officially taking part in them, their outcome will largely determine the authority which these three men will have in future. The new primate has had to risk the episcopate's full prestige in his first political initiative. The first secretary and the Solidarity chairman had to go over the head of their respective apparatuses, the first of which is hostile and the second distrustful. By going ahead all three have committed themselves to succeeding.

Although a desire for agreement exists, the conditions for achieving it are still extremely vague. The first secretary's plan which was explained to the Sejm on 30 October is to regroup -- on the basis of "constitutional principles," in other words recognition of the party's leadership role -- all the country's forces (including the church and Solidarity) in a council for national accord with the job of drawing up the program of a front having the same name. This new body would, therefore, replace the national unity front, a pluralist shield behind which, as in the other people's democracies, the party leadership now exerts its domination over the other legal organizations and movements.

This domination would clearly be much more difficult to exert over the church and Solidarity, the former having the strength of its moral authority and the latter of its 10 million supporters.

In the present political system the front is the structure which has the job of drawing up (approving at present) the lists of candidates for the elections. The presence within it of prominent people actually representing the trade union and the episcopate could therefore make it possible, without formally changing the system, to attain a less ludicrously false representation of the population in the various elected assemblies.

The demand for free elections which is part of Solidarity's program is growing in the country each day. The elections for the People's Councils (municipal and regional) are due to take place next February and the Peasant Party and Democratic Party, the two legal parties, which are in a state of complete ferment, can be expected to refuse to go along with the usual farce of drawing up the lists. Therefore a very serious political crisis is likely to break out on that occasion and neither the Solidarity Presidium, nor the church, still less General Jaruzelski want to allow it to develop.

All these factors argue in favor of the first secretary's proposal being taken into consideration by the trade union and the episcopate who, moreover, were at pains not to reject it in advance. But everything obviously still has to be negotiated since neither Mr Walesa nor Monsignor Glemp could make any commitments, however small, without having an assurance that an acceptable electoral system could be established and that the men who would represent them in a new front would not be swamped and rendered impotent by the delegates of the numerous "social forces" which the party controls. In this agreement on an institutional modus vivendi the first secretary wants to win the backing of Solidarity and the bishops at the lowest possible political price. Solidarity and the bishops, however, want to develop at least partial pluralism in the country -- which is certainly not the same thing.

The second major problem is the introduction of the austerity policy which is vital to stabilize the economy. The trade union leaders are prepared to accept a wage freeze and an increase in retail prices.

But to do this they are asking for the formation of a "social council for the national economy" comprising qualified people independent of the government which would have the job of exerting "social control" on the government's economic decisions. The trade unions think that its members ought to be able to have access to all administrative documents and express their opinions freely on radio and television.

For its part the government, implementing a proposal also made to the Sejm by the first secretary, announced Monday the creation of a "consultative social council" with the job of "supporting by its scientific and moral authority" the action taken by the Council of Ministers. Thus Solidarity has been given satisfaction aside from the fact that the decree published Monday specifies that the chairman and members of this council will be appointed by the prime minister (and therefore he will probably be able to fire them). In doing that, therefore, the government has created a fait accompli before the negotiations start and it will have to win its interlocutors' acceptance for it.

The third and final major problem is the trade unions' access to the media. This question, which has already been negotiated several times without success, has been poisoning the political atmosphere since August 1980, and Solidarity intends to win the right to express itself freely on radio and television. During his meeting with Mr Walesa and Monsignor Glemp the first secretary, despite the insistence of his two interlocutors, took care not to show the slightest open approach in this sphere although he did not give a categorical refusal. It will probably be in this sphere that the game will be most difficult to play.

The Trade Unions and the Media

General Jaruuzelski, who since his appointment as head of government last February has had time to gauge the impotence of the party and state apparatuses, knows that he will be able neither to have any decision implemented nor to curb the country's constant political radicalization without reaching agreement with the trade union leadership and the church. Mr Walesa realizes and says that the isolated or regional struggles are really exhausting the trade union and threaten to weary a section of the population which cannot feed permanently on enthusiasm. Consequently Solidarity must seek some area of agreement with the government. Finally the primate, who is faithful to Cardinal Wyszynski's legacy, supports anything which might help ease tension, reduce the risks of confrontation and also strengthen the church's influence.

All three now have to win their gamble, succeed in doing the impossible by grafting a little institutional democracy onto the system without affecting the party's leadership role, which remains sacrosanct even though it no longer has any existence in practice. The first secretary, the Solidarity chairman and the primate must show greater authority than they really now have.

According to the most credible estimates the party has now lost a minimum of 40 percent of its members. Those who have left are the most determined advocates of real change. The majority of those who are left are either undecided and will follow the tide or are advocates of a restoration of control. As its meetings have shown, the Central Committee elected last July is primarily frightened by the party's collapse and needs to be able to regain a little confidence in its authority. If the policy started by the first secretary does not yield the fruits they expect, they will be just as quick to listen to the "diehards."

Many leadership members only accept the overtures being made to Solidarity and the church because they hope that the trade union's unity will not survive the necessary compromises and that the resulting anarchy would further their designs. Their policy is to make the negotiations as difficult as possible. For instance this seems to have been the intention of Propaganda Secretary Olszowski and Radio and Television Committee Chairman Lorenc when they stated abruptly and in advance last week that the trade union demands on access to the media were unacceptable.

Mr Walesa for his part is having increasing difficulty in silencing the spontaneous demonstrations of anger by the grass roots and ending the local strikes. His relations with the National Commission (the trade union's "Central Committee") are worse than ever because people are no longer prepared to accept his lack of unwillingness to consult elected bodies. The commission's next meeting will be on 3 December. Mr Walesa will have to be able to present it with tangible results in order to avoid the risk of a wave of excessively violent criticism. More seriously, the trade union chairman has no hope of stopping the proliferation of political groups under the trade union's protective mantle and if the "national accord" is attained it could quickly become a very small accord.

Third, Monsignor Glemp, and the church in general, no longer enjoys absolute political authority. Even Mr Walesa has sent the bishops packing on several occasions when they were giving him excessively pressing advice on moderation. Solidarity's local leaders are usually even more unwilling to allow their policy to be dictated by the episcopate, which has never yet succeeded alone in preventing a strike from being started or in ending one.

Rumor has it that the church has already chosen the lay people who could represent it on the council for national accord when the time comes. This rumor is plausible because the episcopate seems determined to take these negotiations faster and with less caution than Solidarity, which could place the trade unionists in a difficult situation at some point. The authorities, for their part, are already busy organizing an "initiative group" whose mission would be to set up the council for national accord. Things are moving quickly. Perhaps too quickly to avoid misunderstandings.

REPORTAGE ON STATUS OF NEWSPAPER STRIKE

Protest Ended in Bydgoszcz

LD201434 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] The protest action on the part of the employees of the Ruch kiosks in Bydgoszcz has ended. Newspapers and color weeklies have appeared in most outlets. The resumption of the sale of periodicals constitutes a positive response from the unions to the decision of the ministerial commissions concerning the successful settlements of the tutelar-upbringing holidays and earlier retirement.

7-Day Strike Alert Announced

LD201912 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Despite the constructive stance of the "Prasa-Ksiazka, Ruch" [Workers' Publishing Cooperative] on controversial problems and a willingness to continue talks the boycott on press sales at Ruch kiosks was continued today in many parts of the country even though this was on a smaller scale than previously.

As of today press sales are being boycotted by Pulawy kiosk holders and Zamosc kiosk holders have announced a press boycott starting tomorrow.

In Wroclaw and in Lower Silesia where the protest campaign by the distributors has been going on the longest, a black market has begun to function in the newspaper trade.

In Pila Voivodship, representatives of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and of the Polish Scout Union have taken up selling newspapers. In Czestochowa Voivodship the army is selling papers.

The press sales boycott was suspended today in Bodgoszcz and in Wloclawek. In Piotrkow Trybunalski members of the Independent Self-Government Trade Union of Vendors "Jednosc" have announced that as of tomorrow there will be a 7-day strike alert while retaining a full press sales service.

Strike Suspended

LD202136 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1910 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Statements by Czeslaw (Rachubka), chairman of the National Strike Committee of Enterprises for the Distribution of the Press, and Bronislaw (Stepien), deputy chairman of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Workers' Publishing Cooperative [RSW] -- live]

[Text] [Rachubka] In connection with the statement by Deputy Chairman of the Main Board of Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch (RSW) Bronislaw (Stepian), which was published in the third edition of the television news on 19 November 1981, and in the daily press on 20 November 1981, the National Strike Committee of Enterprises for the Distribution of the Press and Books makes the following statement:

We are fully aware of the legal and statutory obligations incumbent upon the RSW enterprise. That is why we were ready for negotiations on 9 November 1981. Unfortunately, from the very beginning the Main Board [of the RSW] held fast to the position that talks should begin on 16 November 1981. That was the first loss of 7 days, during which the spontaneous protest of working people grew uninterruptedly. For several months we have tried to resolve with the Main Board the question of benefits for mothers bringing up children up to age three. Not until it came to the protest did the Main Board settle the matter in a single day.

The problem of earlier retirement appears in a similar light. Every one of us has worked through the month of October, and we wish to achieve the commission due to us for this month. It is not true -- and we declare this with all resolve -- that the new commission scales were signed by the National Coordinating Committee of Solidarity. Why the Main Board of RSW treats the initialled protocol of the working meeting as a signed agreement is hard to comprehend, while the introduction of regulations that act retroactively is simply lawlessness.

For 36 years the Ruch kiosks have been active almost every single day, without holidays, without the right to medical exemption from work and without social benefits of any kind. Who is making the decision to cut incomes following the appeal of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic for public calm following the historic meeting between Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, primate Jozef Glemp and Chairman of the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity Lech Walesa? In whose interest is it to torpedo the talks between the government and Solidarity by means of such decisions? Who is publishing declarations which do not accord with the real state of things, in the press and in the mass media? Well, it certainly isn't the National Strike Committee of Workers of RSW. We ask you not to distort the facts.

We proclaimed a boycott of the press because only in this way could we protest the unjust decisions of the Main Board of RSW. Of the two possibilities of boycott -- boycott of the sale of cigarettes and other items of general need, or a boycott of the daily press and weeklies -- we chose the possibility which was less burdensome for the public, and that was the only reason for making such a choice, and not, as said by the deputy chairman of the Main Board of RSW, financial considerations.

While making significant concessions in talks, we are concerned above all for peace and the good of society. That is why we also agree to suspending the boycott of the distribution of the press, with full strike readiness being maintained, immediately following the reading of the present text in the main edition of the Television News on 20 November by Chairman of the National Strike Committee of Enterprises for the Distribution of Press and Books Czeslaw (Rachubka). At the same time we appeal to everyone for the immediate suspension of the press distribution boycott, in order to create a good atmosphere for further talks between Solidarity and the government. We thank all those who supported our action, showing full understanding of our demands.

[Signed] The National Strike Committee, Wroclaw, 20 November 1981

[Stepian] In connection with the statement by the chairman of the National Strike Committee of Enterprises for the Distribution of the Press and Books, I would like to present to you, ladies and gentlemen, the position with regard to matters contained in the statement. Why did we commence talks on 16 November rather than 9 November? First, because the only official reason for the strike action to begin at that time in Lower Silesie concerned reservations to the new scale of commission-based wages for kiosk workers. Since wages according to the new scale were paid for the first time on 11, 12 and 13 November, and since they accorded with the tentative agreement [ustalenie] concluded earlier with the NSZZ Solidarity National Coordinating Committee of workers employed in dissemination enterprises, we assumed that a meeting to evaluate the new scales would take place following the first payday, that is, in the second half of November. However, before this meeting could take place, the strike committee expanded the protest by two more issues: namely, supplements for bringing up children and earlier retirement. The strike action was spreading steadily.

As for supplements for bringing up children and earlier retirement, back in July the management of the RSW supported the union's position with regard to both issues. The fact that it took a few months to deal with them was caused by the need to create new legal regulations outside of the RSW's powers.

Our institution did not introduce arbitrary new wages scales. The extraordinary congress of delegates of the NSZZ Solidarity of vendors [Zjazd sprzedwacow] took place in Gdansk on 3 November. It appointed three people, authorizing them to sign an agreement with RSW. The joint protocol, introducing the new principles of remuneration beginning 1 October, was signed on 4 November. [sentence as heard] Only then were the new scales implemented in practice. That is why we cannot agree that these scales were introduced without the agreement of NSZZ Solidarity. As far as the matter of vendors' pay is concerned, I wish to state again that the new commission rates guarantee the maintenance of vendors' pay at the level of at least the past 3 months, and that the lowest pay would be raised from Z2,400 to Z3,100; therefore, no one can lose by the introduction of these scales. This is because it has, at the same time, been agreed that all vendors whose pay -- calculated according to the new scales -- might be lower would receive supplements bringing their pay up to the level of average earnings in the third quarter.

We cannot agree with the assertion that halting the sale of the press was a solution which the public would find the least troublesome; in the first place, because the kiosks are the only places where newspapers can be bought. It was with this aim in mind, above all, that they had been created in the first place. As for all the remaining things, cigarettes included, they can be purchased in numerous other places. Second, and also mainly, because that form of protest primarily hits at society.

At the same time, I want to declare that in the course of a dozen or so months, recognizing the socially correct demands of the vendors, we settled many matters which had been waiting for solution for a long time, from rest holidays through insurance to shorter working hours, without strike action. In this way, we want to cooperate further with the entire group of vendors. For this reason, we recognize that there has been a positive reaction to our appeal for an immediate end to the boycott of press distribution.

At the same time, I would like to take this opportunity to warmly thank all those who, in the period of the strikes, took upon themselves the work of distributing the press to the readers; to all those, who within the framework of their duties and beyond, took on press distribution; and also to society, which in this period showed great patience and attachment to their newspapers and periodicals.

PRIVATE FARMERS TU HOLDS MEETING IN GORZOW

Protest Action To Begin 23 Nov

LD221404 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1330 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] The National Founding Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers is meeting for the second day in Gorzow today. Today's session is being chaired by (Jozef Chwala) from Olsztyn.

Our correspondent in Gorzow Wielkopolski reports that a resolution has been adopted relating to the national protest action by farmers. The National Founding Committee Presidium in Warsaw was authorized to coordinate it. For the periods of the action, which is to begin tomorrow, the committee will transform itself into a national strike committee and will have its headquarters in Siedlce.

3 Members Fail Confidence Vote

LD221954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The session of the National Founding Committee [OKZ] of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers is continuing in Santok, near Gorzow. A resolution has been adopted concerning a national protest action by farmers. The Presidium of OKZ in Warsaw has been empowered to coordinate the protest action. During the protest action, the Presidium will transform itself into a national strike committee [OKS] with headquarters in Siedlce.

During the session,some of the delegates sharply criticized the actions of the OKZ. Some members of the Presidium submitted their resignation. In this situation, the OKZ of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers called for a vote of confidence in the Presidium. As a result of the vote, three people did not receive a necessary number of votes. It is not known if the Presidium will coopt any new members. The session is continuing.

Roundup of Meeting

LD230028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] The National Founding Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers was holding debates for the second day in Santok in Gorzow Voivodship.

A resolution was adopted on the issue of a national protest action. The resolution appeals to all union cells to conduct a homogeneous and coordinated protest action under the slogan of a prompt and full implementation of the Rzeszow-Ustrzyki and Bydgoszcz agreements. Arbitrary decisions, the resolution states, weaken the strength of the union and the effectiveness of actions. They will be considered a violation of union discipline. The resolution states that a national strike committee will be set up in Siedlce tomorrow. The committee will be authorized to hold negotiations with the government.

Today's session was devoted also to a report on the work of the National Electoral Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers. Irregularities during the electoral campaign were pointed out. It was reported that the elections in Szczecin cannot be recognized as valid. The following submitted their resignations from the posts held: Piotr Baumgart from Szczecin, second deputy chairman of the National Founding Committee; (Marian Gott), chairman of the Warsaw Voivodship Founding Committee; Gabriel Janowski, first deputy chairman of the union; and Kamil Matuszewski, secretary of the National Founding Committee.

A proposal to hold a vote of no confidence with regard to all the Presidium excluding Jan Kulaj, who was elected by the congress, was submitted. In a secret ballot, 3 of the 10 members of the National Founding Committee Presidium of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers did not receive the required number, more than 50 percent, of valid votes.

The session is continuing.

WALESA APPEALS TO W. EUROPE FOR FOOD AID

LD211228 Warsaw PAP in English 1115 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov (PAP) -- Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has turned to the working people and trade unions of Western Europe with "an appeal for food aid for Poland."

He writes in the appeal about the hopes pinned on the programme of national conciliation and implementation of the economic reform and anti-crisis measures.

He states that these measures are now imperiled because a drastic food shortage may trigger dangerous social tensions and spontaneous outbursts of popular discontent which may upset the prospect of economic and political stability in Poland.

Lech Walesa writes: "We turn to you with an appeal: Approach your governments with an initiative for an extraordinary and urgent food relief for Poland in the period of five months immediately ahead. The government-level negotiations will define the technicalities of refinancing and crediting this aid, according to the present possibilities of the Polish state.

"On our part, we assure you that we shall do our utmost to see that such aid is effected under social control and that the financial obligations entailed by it are met over the shortest possible time. We are confident that we shall lead our country out of the crisis. We hope that it is not a long time when our union and our country will be able to help others."

Comment by PAP's Tomasz Walat: Walesa's appeal sparks mixed feelings. On the one hand, a growing number of people in Poland, (?particularly) elderly people, are under-nourished. On the other hand, we have recorded [word indistinct] year [words indistinct] we have gathered would be sufficient to keep everybody satisfied with food, as has been the case in many postwar years.

Now, however, these crops are not properly divided. A big part of them remains in the countryside instead of being channeled to towns. We waste much in industry and transport, and we also waste time through strikes, tensions, idle talk and bad organization which could otherwise be used to boost the food volume. Despite Walesa's optimism, an early emergence from the crisis is nowhere in sight.

The working people in other countries will have to take these aspects into consideration. They increasingly ask the question: Why do the Poles cannot feed themselves? [sentence as received]

Prompted by a sense of solidarity they will doubtless face a difficult choice: Should we help the Poles to head off a greater unrest in their country which can also endanger our interests, or should we rather salvage the world's poorest nations against real death through starvation? The food resources in the world are not inexhaustible. And we, who are reaching out for help, will to some extent be responsible for the consequences of this choice.

VARIOUS SECTIONS OF PRIVATE FARMERS TU'S MEET

Appeal for Food Supplies

LD210450 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] The protest committee of the Main Council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations of Private Farmers yesterday renewed talks with the inter-ministerial commission. It appealed to all members of the union not to hold back supplies of food. As PAP reports, protest committees of the voivodship boards of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations are active in the majority of voivodships. Their chief demand is the halting of the so-called linked sale of animals for slaughter.

Koszalin Meeting

LD201434 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] The council Presidium of the Koszalin Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations has expressed support for the protest embarked on by the Main Council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations of the NSZZ of Private Farmers.

The council Presidium has decided to turn itself into a protest committee as an expression of solidarity with the protest committee attached to the Main Council. The decision was made, we read in the Telex sent to the Koszalin broadcasting station, as the result of the government side not honoring agreements that had been concluded and of introducing the Council of Ministers' resolution in the matter of activating the purchasing of pigs and cattle for slaughter without the agreement of self-management. The protest action will not affect anything connected with withholding the sales of agricultiral produce. The protest committee invited the voivodship authorities yesterday to start talks which were conducted until the small hours of the night. Many issues contained in the voivodship demands were settled, except for one: lifting linked sales in Koszalin Voivodship. The protest action is continuing.

Przemysl Meeting

LD220220 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] In Jaroslaw, representatives of the Przemysl Voivodship authorities have concluded talks with the strike committee of the voivodship council of the Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations. The talks dealt, among other things, with making the state administration accountable for the implementation of proposals and demands. The Przemysl voivoda has been ordered to appeal to the minister of agriculture and food economy to introduce the exchange of grain for concentrated fodder while applying the prices in force and to make sure that the chairman of the Council of Ministers issues regulations allowing for the appropriate exploitation and cultivation of land by those who use it.

It has also been made incumbent on the voivodship authorities to appeal to the premier for the suspension of the Government Presidium's decision relating to the linked sale of animals for slaughter. The strike committee in Jaroslaw expects a final decision on this matter by 1200 on Monday.

REGIONAL STUDENTS', TEACHERS' STRIKES CONTINUE

Radom Compromise Reached

LD201400 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] The impasse connected with the lack of progress in activities designed to resolve the conflict at the Radom Higher Engineering School and the consequent strike in higher education establishments has been overcome.

A conference attended by more than 30 rectors of university schools from all parts of Poland has ended today. It has examined possibilities for the dealing with the conflict at Radom college. A delegation of rectors met yesterday with Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and head of the Science Department at the Central Committee Eugeniusz (?Buraczynski).

It has been agreed that a rectors' commission, appointed at yesterday's conference will go to Radom and will suggest that new elections be held at the local college in line with election law envisaged by the draft bill on higher education. Until the election of a new rector, his duties will be handled by a person suggested by Prof Jan Szczepanski.

Mediating Delegation Arrives

LD211935 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] A delegation of the Main Council for Science, Higher Education and Technology, headed by its chairman, Professor Jan Szczepanski, has arrived at the Higher Engineering School in Radom.

Rectors of Krakow and Poznan Universities, Warsaw, and Lodz Polytechnics and the state Higher Theatrical School in Warsaw are included in the delegation. Professor Jerzy Nawrocki, minister of science, higher education and technology, is also present.

The delegation has had a meeting with senate members, sociopolitical and youth organization representatives active in the educational establishment, and also with the strike committee of the Polish Teachers' Union-Science. Subsequently, talks with Solidarity's strike committee and with the Independent Association of Students commenced. The talks are continuing.

Mediation Effort Fails

LD221602 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] Another attempt to put an end to the conflict in the Radom Higher Engineering School has failed. A delegation of the National Conference of Rectors, accompanied by Minister Jerzy Nawrocki and the chairman of the Main Council for Science, Higher Education and Technology, Prof Jan Szczepanski, have decided to suspend temporarily its mediating mission.

Those who are occupying the buildings of the Radom college have demanded, as a (?precondition), negotiations with the senate and members of the Polish Teachers' Union, sociopolitical and youth organizations and a statement from the other side regarding the validity of the elections of the authorities of the college.

In reply, members of the Polish Teachers' Union have stated that in order to resolve the conflict, one must resume classes immediately and make it possible for teachers to work by clearing the buildings.

Strikes Spread in Szczecin

LD201456 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov (PAP) -- The strike-cum-protest campaign at the Szczecin colleges is spreading. The sit-in strike of students of the College of Agriculture has entered its fourth day. About 400 students are occupying one of the college buildings -- the agricultural faculty in Slowacki Street. Students at the Technical University have started a progressive sit-in strike. They are staging this strike faculty by faculty. Yesterday students from the engineering-economic faculty of transport were on strike and in the next few days the strike will be continued by other faculties. Students of the Szczecin Maritime College announced a sit-in strike today. Students from the Szczecin Teachers' Training College have announced their strike readiness.

Lublin Teachers' Strike

LD202348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Excerpts] In Lublin at all educational-upbringing centers strike readiness is in force. During special (?parades) a group of electronic schools were informed of the aims and planned course of the strike. Studies and lessons are taking place normally. A telex from our correspondent in Lublin has brought much information. The strike at grammar school No 8 in Lublin has now been going on 2 days. Today, Solidarity members from the Lublin motor vehicle repair works mounted there a so-called "order guard". A group of electronic schools also joined the strike today. It is forecast that the strike will spread to the primary schools.

FURTHER COMMENT ON SOSNOWIEC COAL MINE CONFLICT

Walesa Comments Cited

AU201314 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Nov 81 p 6

["TEG" report: Lech Walesa visit]

[Text] Yesterday, 11 November, a mass meeting took place at the Sosnowiec coal mine in which Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa and Leszek Waliszewski, chairman of the Silesia-Dabrowa region took part.

During the meetings with the miners, L. Walesa said inter alia that "the struggle which is going on will go down in history as a boodless revolution. Both Solidarity and the government are deceiving [oszukuja] each other in order to get the better of one another."

Referring to the strike at the Sosnowiec coal mine, Lech Walesa said that the National Commission's appeal was explicit and does not support the strikes. The strike committee will decide how your conflict should be resolved. We should give up the minor encounters in order to win the big battle....

In Lech Walesa's opinion the propositions directed toward the minister of mining and power are acceptable to the government. Walesa also appealed to the Silesia-Darbrowa region to undertake constructive activity and not indulge in wild strikes. Concerning a TV broadcast, L. Walesa said that he had already made appearances of this kind in local programs.

'Truth' Is Told

AU202016 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 16 Nov 81 p 1

[Editorial commentary: "The Truth About the Sosnowiec Colliery"]

[Text] Last Friday [13 November] we learned from the communique issued by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers that"... in connection with the fact that it has not been possible in the past few months to extract the planned amount of coal, it has been necessary to reduce the planned volume of the annual coal extraction by another 2 million tons -- to 162 million tons." This statement was expanded by the committee's spokesman in a commentary that included so-called candid information, which was not without impact on the community's growing fear of the coming winter. The point is, the communique stated, that the shortage of coal will cause further cuts in energy supplies and will thus curtail industrial production.

Aside from the balance sheet, everything is right except for one thing. In the past few weeks, it has been possible to note that the information about the capabilities of our coal-mining industry always assumes the same form based on the same premise, namely, that we have less and less coal, but that the miners either refuse to go down to the mines on work-free Saturdays or even go down in order to start an occupation strike for a change.

This is always an occasion for vociferous shouting that coal is as valuable as bread (which is quite correct). On the other hand, much less is said about the conditions -- not merely technical-economic conditions -- that must be fulfilled to finally sort out the problems of mining and miners. When given the facts on the striking Sosnowiec mine, Lech Walesa said at once that society must know the whole truth about the miners' problems without any beating about the bush, "...because you are on strike, and in 2 weeks they will announce that children are freezing because of you...."

As for Sosnowiec coal mine, in which the conflict has assumed the form of a resolute and tough strike, it was not until last Thursday [12 November] that our society was told the truth, so badly needed by all of us, during an extensive TV program.

However, the point is that it is a scandal that it was not unitl the 17th day of the strike that the public was able to learn the first reliable and honest information on it -- reliable and honest because it came straight from the Sosnowiec miners. This truth was supplied not on the first or even the second day of the strike. No, it was supplied more than 2 weeks later!

This induces reflections reaching out far beyond the coming winter and energy shortages. The original reason for the strike is well known: some provocateurs threw some irritating gas capsules and, as a result, almost 100 people had to go to the hospital. It was not until the miners coerced a TV program to do it that we learned the basic and true reason for the prolonged strike at the Sosnowiec mine. The miners said openly: We have been left along and no one wanted to listen to our arguments. No one wanted to talk honestly and look for agreement.

Of course, this is a brief summary of the dramatic events that happened over several days and a brief exposition of the crux of the matter. After all, the Katowice voivoda was even ready to receive the strike committee... in his own office. Perhaps his proposal was a little better than the practice of receiving serfs on the doorstep of the squires' mansions, but who will wonder why the miners rejected that proposal?

It is obvious that attempts were made to hide the truth away in an office drawer, but, fortunately, this is not so easy nowadays. It was with astounding perserverance that efforts were made to promote the view that when there is a shortage of coal -- such shortages worry not only the economic committee -- then the miners are to blame, of course. The skillfully manupulated journalists have spread false reports and television has engaged in maneuvers that we all know well. And the fact that a TV program with the striking miners was finally beamed after 17 days is no doubt the achievement of some person who had at last pounded the table with his fist. Who knows, perhaps it was the general himself.

It is a fact that we have lost great quantities of coal. However, the miners have lost faith in those authorities whose job is to serve the community and not to lord it over people. It is easy to make good the losses in coal production, but it is much more difficult to regain faith.

WARSAW AUTHORITIES MEET WITH SOLIDARITY, UNIONS

LD202328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] A meeting was held today in Warsaw's city hall between trade union representatives and the capital's administrative authorities. It was the first joint talk about such difficult matters as the situation on the labor market, the threat of temporary unemployment, the vital need to transfer cadres between various sectors of the economy, and youth employment prospects.

In view of the introduction of the reform, these problems are current in the whole country, and all the more so in Warsaw, because of its economic and adminstrative standing.

The meeting was attended by representatives of NSZZ Solidarity and the Industrial Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions. The trade unionists demanded a clear definition of the employment prospects of people dismissed from their jobs in associations, scientific institutions and central trade agencies, and pointed out the vital need to guarantee work to at least one person in a family, in cases where a married couple are employed in the same liquidated institution. The meeting also discussed the drastic situation in housing construction. The danger is arising that a family will get its own apartment only after two generations. Demands were made for more energetic activity to help the crafts and for the repeal of many nonsensical regulations and curtailments. The Warsaw authorities undertook to present to all trade unions in mid-December the proposed solutions to employment problems for the unions to give an opinion.

SOLIDARITY SHOWS MONOPOLY AIM IN ZYWIEC CONFLICT

LD202122 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Nov 81

[(Waldemar Rudnik) commentary]

[Text] On 31 August 1980 an agreement was reached at Gdansk shipyard between the government commission and the Interfactory Strike Committee [MKS]. The two sides worked out a document of historic importance. I will not belabor this point so as to avoid truisms. Before I start my actual reflections, I will recall and excerpt from point No 2 of the protocol to the agreement:

The MKS states that it will observe the principles contained in the Polish Constitution in creating new, independent trade unions. The new trade unions will defend the social and material interests of the workers and do not intend to play the role of a political party. They proceed from the position that means of production belong to society. This position constitutes the foundation of the political system in force in Poland. Recognizing that the PZPR performs the leading role in the state and not wishing to undermine the agreed system of international alliances, the new trade unions will strive to ensure for the working people appropriate means of control, to express their opinions and defend their interests. End of quote.

This statement is so unequivocal that today, in the fact of facts I am about to cite, one may well ask oneself the question: Was it a political maneuver, or was it a real declaration of good will? The facts are as follows:

Solidarity's works commission at the Ponar factory in Zywiec has sent the factory management a letter-resolution-ultimatum in which it demands, above all, that no decision whatsoever be subjected to consultations with the party's works committee; that the party organization should vacate the premises it occupies; and that the party organization should be banned from carrying out activities during the working time on the factory premises. All of this has been formulated clearly and emphatically, as well as unambiguously: In its factory, the Ponar Solidarity does not see any room for the party. At the party's initiative, efforts have been undertaken to settle the conflict, but to no avail. The workers' council has decided to arrange for a workers' referendum on this matter. It is known that party members will not take part in the referendum. Why? Let me answer with a question: Would you, ladies and gentlemen, take part in a referendum which is to cast doubt upon the necessity for the government to respect every citizens' inalienable rights? It also defines the party's position within the state. It is a fact that the Constitution, as far as its letter is concerned, has been abused in the past.

We all have felt this painfully. Maybe it is precisely because of this that today I am forced to protest against the action aimed at establishing new constitutional rights -- aimed, let us not be frightened to say this, at achieving a monopoly of power, action, which so far, has been initiated in the Zywiec Ponar machine tools factory by the works' Solidarity commission.

STEEL MILL PARTY UNIT ISSUES RESOLVE ON STRIKES

LD220204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] The party organization in the Warsaw steel mill defined its attitude towards the current sociopolitical problems of the country in a resolution adopted at a factory programmatic conference. In order to protect the country from complete disintegration, we read in the resolution, the Sejm should urgently introduce a temporary ban on all strikes -- for instance, for a period of 2 years -- and recognize strikes as vehicles which undermine the existence of the nation and its defense capability.

The resolution demands that the Independent Students Association abandon antisocialist and anarchic activity. If the union continues to undertake this kind of activity, it will be necessary to make the organization illegal. We do not want the students, the document says, to strike at our cost instead of studying. Those who want to strike ought to be expelled from universities and their places given to the sons of workers and peasants. The resolution stresses that a front of national accord cannot encompass those who are conducting antisocialist and counterrevolutionary activities.

TORUN SOLIDARITY TO HOLD MARCH AGAINST BEATINGS

LD230932 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The regional prosecutor's office in Torun appeals for witnesses of an incident which took place in the center of Torun on the night of 17-18 November. The incident concerns the beating up of and pouring paint on two members of the NSZZ Solidarity by unknown persons. These members were protesting against those persons covering with paint posters and slogans placed in the shops by Solidarity. An extraordinary meeting of the Solidarity members took place day before yesterday. They appealed to the regional office to take energetic steps to instruct the prosecution organs to find the culprits and punish them and ensure by the town authorities law and order on the streets. It was stated at yesterday's meeting of the regional board of Solidarity that within the next 7 days a protest march will take place in Torun concerning the beating up of the Solidarity members.

MILITARY YOUTH GROUPS HOLD FIRST CONFERENCE

Meeting in Warsaw

LD211502 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Youth activists from units and tactical groups in all military districts and arms services are participating in the first conference of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic in Warsaw.

While discussing the role of the Polish People's Army in the country's present sociopolitical situation, it is being stressed that it is necessary to mold the soldiers responsibility concerning the nation and its security even more effectively. The conference is also debating the forces' participation in various activities to assist the economy and the community. A good example of such activity is the work of local operations groups, which have just completed the first stage of their assistance work.

Delegates Meet With Siwicki

LD202318 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] A group of delegates, who are participating in the 2-day first conference of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, met today with Florian Siwicki, deputy member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, chief of the general staff of the Polish Army and deputy minister of defense.

The topic of conversation was the role of young people in the current sociopolitical situation of the country. The role of young activists in the Armed Forces with regard to the consolidation of combat readiness of the Armed Forces and in the practical ideological and educative work among young soldiers was also discussed. The conversation also dealt with the participation of the Armed Forces in various types of work that support the country's national economy.

Meeting Ends

LD220120 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] In Warsaw the first conference of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic had ended. The conference dealt with the particular role of the Polish People's Army in the present sociopolitical situation, the efforts made during October to lead Poland out of the crisis and the need for a more effective inculcation of responsibility into the soldiers with regard to national security. The conference participants unanimously adopted a resolution in which they assure the party and state authorities -- and Premier Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee in person -- that they will make all efforts to fulfil the programatic tasks of the union with honor and with the dignity of a soldier of the Polish People's Army.

DEMOCRATIC YOUTH UNION HOLDS PLENUM IN KRAKOW

LD220044 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] A plenum of the National Council of the Union of Democratic Youth is in session in Krakow. The plenum is formulating its stance for participating in the implementation of the idea of national agreement. Those taking part in the discussion are saying that all social forces should take part in the implementation of the idea of the front. It was stated during the plenum that elections to People's Councils at individual levels will be stages in the implementation of the principles of national agreement as well as in the development of democracy and parliamentarism.

Plenum Ends

LD230035 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] The third plenum of the National Council of the Union of Democratic Youth ended in Krakow today. Representatives of all union branches from all over Poland and of the [word indistinct] authorities participated in the session. The session dealt with the idea of setting up a front of national accord and the issue of elections to People's Councils at primary level. It was stated that all forces of the community ought to participate in the realization of the idea of the front. It was made incumbent on regional councils and on all members of the Union of Democratic Youth to take part in the discussion on the concept of the front of national accord and on the elections.

MEDIA ASSESSMENT OF INTERNAL ACTIVITIES

KPN's Activities Scored

LD201522 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov (PAP) -- Referring to recent attempts by the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) to impose an anti-socialist and anti-state character on celebrations of the 63rd anniversary of regaining independence by Poland after the First World War, the daily TRYBUNA LUDU wrote:

"The KPN activity aims to sow discord among the Poles and to set segments of the society against the people's power and the constitutional legal order.

"Petty politicians from the KPN organisation are trying to slip behind the Solidarity shield to be able destructively to wield their influence on certain circles in its leadership, to infiltrate politically-inclined groups in schools of higher learning, in a word to [word indistinct] emotions and irritate according to the maxim -- the worse the better.

"Such a programme runs counter both to Polish interests and the realities of international alignments. Emanating from the KPN proganda is downright irrational hatred of socialism, of our allies and neighbours. It displays special hostility towards the great socialist power which throughout the whole postwar period has been and continues to be the guarantor of the inviolability of our frontiers and has been Poland's most important economic partner."

TRYBUNA LUDU said in conclusion: "Extremism and political blindness, dangerous megalomania vis-a-vis other nations, especially our neighbours, disregard of Poland's basic national and state reasons add up to form the essence of the KPN programme and the motto of those who inspire its activity. This activity at the same time seeks to destroy the patriotic unity of Poles which is so much needed, especially now."

Article by KOR Member Attacked

LD201620 Warsaw PAP in English 1421 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov (PAP) -- The army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI takes exception to the article by J.J. Lipski, one of the founders of the Workers Defence Committee (KOR), published in FRANKFURTER ALGEMEINE on November 13. Referring to the presentation of viewpoints by Lipski as injudicious and foolish, the daily says, inter alia:

"What could have induced a Polish literature historian to publish sentences which are sweet music to the ears of West German revanchists? What could have induced him in the year 1981 to voice compunction over the fact that People's Poland has fought for and won a frontier along the Odra and Lusatian Nysa, and the Baltic?

Mr Lipski knows pretty well what he is doing because he admits that 'in Poland presentation of the matter in such light would be unbearable, and it is not difficult to guess why.' Why, then, is he treating the subject in this manner? Why is he not hesitant even to falsify obvious historical facts just to press his point? The answer is that Mr Lipski, as he admits, personally and on behalf of an undisclosed group of like-minded people, hankers after a totally different motherland.

'As a nation, says Lipski, although nobody gave him the right to speak for the nation, 'which feels its attachment to the Western Mediterranean cultural circle we marvel about return to our great motherland -- Europe. This calls for agreement with the Germans who already are and will remain in that Europe'. [quotation marks as received]

To Mr Lipski, Poland does not mean Europe, but Europe means Germany. Mr Lipski's integration with Europe amounts practically to Poland's integration with West-German imperialism, although this would entail inevitable Germanization."

Solidarity Idea of Council

LD220212 Warsaw PAP in English 2027 GMT 21 Nov 81

["Intentions All Too Transparent" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Nov (PAP) -- TRYBUNA LUDU's Jerzy Bielecki today takes issue with Solidarity's opening thesis toward the concept of the national economy social council (SRGN) which alleges that the authority lacks credibility. Bielecki writes: "If the authors of the SRGN concept had in mind the past period then they should know that the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress carried out a deep analysis of the authority's lack of credibility.

"But what deserves reflection is what the authority's credibility looks like and on what it depends today, fifteen months after August 1980, four months after the 9th PUWP Congress, a few weeks after the change of the PUWP first secretary and after the presentation of the initiative for a front of national accord.

"Today, the credibility of the authorities cannot be measured by good intentions but as an element of the overall socio-political and economic landscape.

"In that landscape there may be spots showing ineptitude and blunders of the authorities in implementing the programme to overcome the crisis but, to be fair, there should be also strikes and protest actions designed to undermine the authorities' prestige, lack of cooperation with the administration and all kinds of actions questioning the very purpose of the authority.

"The basic doubt is why the loudly advertised Solidarity programme of democratization of the state gives Solidarity the exclusive right to exercise control on behalf of the society while at the same time bypassing other groups. Why then does Solidarity insist on playing the role of organiser of a closed social body composed only of Solidarity members who will exercise control over the government?

"Any kind of council or a collegial, consultative or advisory body within the framework of the constitutional legal order must adhere to the principle of all-round representation if it intends to advise the legislative or executive organs of state power," concluded TRYBUNA LUDU.

TV Examines 'Strike Madness'

LD210032 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The strike at a number of higher educational establishments in the country is continuing. The protestors are demanding the speedy introduction of the bill on higher education and the dismissal of the principal of the Higher School of Engineering at Radom.

Student strikes are continuing at dozens of higher educational establishments in the country. Some of our youth are experiencing a new and wonderful adventure. Is it wonderful? And even if it is wonderful, then who is paying for it? It is paid for, first of all, by the working members of society. Naturally, it is not merely a question of the money allocated by the government for the education of students, although this particular point is not without its own significance because, after all, this money is not coming down from heaven: It comes from the toil of the working people. It can be said despite very difficult conditions in which we have to live at present, we are inclined to live it up. For tens of thousands of young and healthy people, we provide vacations by means of strikes. There is the jolly mood of a barn dance. Let the young people have some fun. However, all this involves cost which cannot be expressed in terms of money. In order for the economic crisis to be overcome, Poland needs social peace. Let us spell it out clearly: Today, every strike, even a student strike, adds to the tension and to the disquiet. People are paying for strikes with their nerves and with a growing fear about tomorrow. The organizers of the student strikes, however, are not at all interested in this, because they are guided by different goals. If we take a firm stand, the principal of the Higher School of Engineering will have to go. We shall show the authorities who is really strong in this country. And if the principal does not give way, we shall mount a fullscale strike. We will do it -- so says the boys from the Independent Students Association.

However, to raise the whole community of students to their feet because of Professor Hebda is overkill. Hence, a second pretext has been thought of: the bill on higher education. We shall strike until the government submits a draft bill to the Sejm. It is interesting how few of the strikers have read the draft bill. Do they at least know what it contains? The draft bill has already been forwarded to the Seum, and yet the strikes are continuing. New demands are being put forward: The Sejm must pass the draft bill without any alterations.

(?One line altered) and we shall strike again. It must be like that, because this is the wish of the Independent Students Association. It must be like that, because this is how the Independent Students Association interprets democracy.

This is what the student strike madness looks like in practice.

JEDNOSC Censorship Complaint

AU201259 Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish 3 Nov 81 p 3

[Editorial message: "To Our Readers"]

[Text] As of 1 October, that is, from the day the censorship law came into effect, the conditions under which our weekly paper is published have deteriorated. The censor has ceased consultations with the editorial staff, which used to take place every Thursday. On these occasions we were able to argue about our convictions and defend our publication. Now we no longer have this possibility. On Thursdays, the censor gives us his decision in writing: this should be scrapped entirely, that partially. In addition, the very broad working of paragraph 2 of the law permits practically almost every article and every sentence to be deleted from the publication.

The fact that JEDNOSC appeared with delay was caused by the censorship's new practices. On Thursday the editors received a decision to remove an entire article from one issue and to considerably abridge three others. We considered and still consider the censorship's interference as unfounded, but unfortunately we have no power to have it changed. We were wondering whether it was worth publishing such a truncated paper (the censor even removed sentences relating to internal union matters). We had no chance to make immediate changes in material, either. On Friday, the Presidium of the regional administration took the view the JEFNOSC ought to be published after replacing the questionable material with other material, and that we should appeal against the censor's decision to a higher body. This is what we did.

So, dear readers, you will receive JEDNOSC with a delay of several days. This is not our fault. Looking at the way the authorities have been dealing with the union press throughout the country, this does not even surprise us very much. But it is not we, the editors, who have been affected by the censorship's intimidation. JEDNOSC is the union's paper -- your paper.

[signed] The editors.

JEDNOSC Views Confrontation

AU201404 Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish 3 Nov 81 p 7

[Ludwik Kepinski commentary: "Confrontation"]

[Excerpts] The past 35 years of incapable governments, the absence of honesty and the fact that many leading party officials who continued to govern the country took to the road of crime, have resulted in an unprecedented economic crisis in Poland. This crisis has been accompanied by an ideological and political crisis. The contempt shown for the working people by the party leaders has cost the party its credibility in the eyes of an overwhelming majority of the Poles. The decline and the crash have been so obvious that no attempts have been made to conceal them in the face of the most unanimous protest that is without precedent in the history of Europe and perhaps the world. While still the first party secretary, Edward Gierek admitted guilt for the entire crisis and the fact that the party leadership had dissociated itself from the masses of the party and the people. This was also admitted by many other party leaders and prominent figures of our political and economic life.

All of them fully recognized the postulates of the striking workforces and acknowledged them as most important acts to regulate Polish life and to lead the country to renewal. Realizing Poland's international position and wishing peace, the Polish nation was inclined to accept the incapable and dishonest party leadership so that -- following personnel changes -- it could implement the desired and coerced reforms. The party leadership recognized the nation's demand for a renewal in the spirit of democracy and respect for human dignity.

However, antinational elements braced by the hostile statements published by the press in the neighboring countries and by the threats in the form of continuous military maneuvers around Poland gave to understand that they were there. Accords began to be breached, and some people even boasted about such breaches. This was attested to by a Politburo member's statements on access to the mass media and on the fact that the PZPR leadership had appropriated these media for itself for its own narrow reasons, which are often in conflict with the Polish nation's vital interests and needs. This was attested to by other events such as the provocation organized when Solidarity was being registered as a trade union, and the filthy Bydgoszcz provocation -- filthy because it was based on violence and bloodshed -- which misfired because our entire society, including an enormous number of party organizations in factories, came out in protest.

Again protests were heard not only in Solidarity, but also in many party organizations and from honest party members, who take a serious view of their fatherland's economic, political and moral rehabilitation. It became obvious that sabotaging the signed accords was possible only under the conditions of the restoration of "party unity," which meant a return to the state in which the party masses could really decide nothing and were merely allowed to applaud. As time went by, we could hear less and less about the need to honor social accords and more and more that Solidarity was not a trade union but a political party.

The confrontation with the nation, of which Solidarity is a genuine part, would be possible when the patriotic and socialist forefront constituted by active and honest party members, most of whom are Solidarity members, were eliminated. That is why a campaign was unleashed against them, and artificial tension was created last year. The calmer the country was, the more active was party propaganda in claiming that tension was increasing. Efforts were made and are being made to create an artificial division in the most loyal industrial Branch Trade Unions, whose members, many of whom are decent people, are being insulted, and in Solidarity or in the PZPR and Solidarity. This is not a result of insanity or a lack of tolerance. This is a deliberate effort toward confrontation, which is being inspired and enthusiastically backed by foreign centers. One can discern that in the continuous gibberish that attempts are being made to take over power and in the unceasing holding forth about power in all its forms. Some sections of the party are not interested in the nation, but in the power over the nation. For what purpose? The 35 years of their continuous power -- a time long enough to really know this purpose with the help of verified proofs -- demonstrated its nature.

Whoever in the country seeks confrontation acts to the detriment of the country. Every call for a civil war and every act of frightening society with such a war is a hostile act toward society and has a fascist foundation.

Let us not be divided into Solidarity people, party people, the green ones, the red ones and the gray ones with colored fingers. We are Poles equally sharing in a great culture and convictions, which it is hard to search for elsewhere. Let us not be driven into a blind alley. Let us not bring about bloody encounters, let us not even speak of them. If we have to shed blood then let us do it when defending the fatherland. Let us not exaggerate the importance of a small handful of people who do not have the support of the Polish nation. This handful will be swept away by any puff of history, no matter who is behind this handful. But we too must be resolute in our actions.

Let us not be driven mad by some madmen from Solidarity either -- madmen who support Comrade Siwak and believe that it is either Solidarity or the PZPR; in other words, either the trade unions or the political party.

They are also the enemies of the Polish nation because they do exactly what the party leadership does, except that they accelerate confrontation. The Polish nation is and will always be one nation, no matter how long attempts may be made to wipe out its history and to infect it with germs of hatred. Not colors and programs, but the attitude toward Poland and its nation as well as toward an honest and true socialism and toward peace is and will be the only criterion of evaluating every citizen.

What remains? Either to be thrown out beyond the pale of the nation or to explicitly and honestly observe the accords and the Polish Constitution and to meet the nation's crucial and vital needs. As for Solidarity, it must in this difficult period protect its every member, even with the help of its entire organization. This is the first and the most credible test. Otherwise Solidarity will quickly cease to be Solidarity.

BRANCH UNIONISTS VIEW TALKS WITH RAKOWSKI

LD202340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1610 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Excerpts] A meeting was held yesterday between representatives of Industrial Branch Trade Unions led by Eugeniusz Mielnicki, chairman of the Industrial Branch Trade Union's National Commission for Cooperation, and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Also taking part in the talks was Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of trade union affairs. (Eugeniusz Kubisin), chairman of the Main Board of the Printing Workers' Trade Union, and (Jan Szymon), secretary of the Main Board of the Metal Workers' Trade Union, speak about the meeting.

[Begin recording, unidentified voice] Yesterday's meeting was the first after the change of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions name and after the elections. Three groups of subjects were discussed. The first matter was to give an account of the implementation of what was agreed during the previous meeting. The second group of subjects was concerned with agreeing on a schedule for talks to be started between working groups. The third group of subjects dealt with a discussion on the current situation.

[Second unidentified voice] It was characteristic that the representatives of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions drew Minister Ciosek's attention to the fact that the statements which have been made by government circles have not been credible in every case. One very important problem was touched upon -- the problem of reviewing all collective settlements and the extent to which they are being implemented. This is not only a question of financial matters but there are also matters in collective settlements which refer, for instance, to professional training, overhauling vehicle fleets which do not need outlays running into millions of zlotys but which can be dealt with. This will also be a subject for joint talks.

[First unidentified voice] The discussion was hard but I think it bore fruit. Out of the 12 teams appointed, some are already conducting negotiations with the government and some will join in negotiations when the government has prepared the appropriate teams for these talks. [end recording]

INDUSTRIAL BRANCH TU'S OPPOSE FUEL PRICE RISE

LD220046 Warsaw PAP in English 1841 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Nov (PAP) -- The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Branch Trade Unions Coordinating Commission has issued a statement on the petrol price increase effective from tomorrow.

The committee maintains that the object of the price increase is to drain the pockets of the population and a dubious attempt to restore equilibrium of the fuel market. The committee doubts that it will help to curb demand for petrol but says that it is certain to drive up the costs of living since higher costs of transportation will push up prices for commodities and services.

The Executive Committee feels that the government should lend credibility to the idea of social consultation by urgently presenting a plan providing for improvement of municipal and inter-city transport services and rational use of fuel in the socialist economy. At the same time the committee demands that a comprehensive programme defining the overall concept of retail price regulations and compensations for the growth of the costs of living be drawn up in consultation with the trade unions.

OFFICIALS DISCUSS PROPOSED NATIONAL ACCORD BODY

LD220308 Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Nov (PAP) -- The first steps towards national accord in Poland have already been made. Also the PUWP CC Political Bureau has come out in support of the idea of agreement of all patriotic forces which uphold the fundamental principles of Poland's socio-political system.

What should be the shape of that accord? Who is going to conclude it with whom, and on what terms?

The following answers were given to these questions by some Polish officials polled by the Polish agency INTERPRESS:

Jerzy Grzbzak, secretary of the UPP (Peasant Party) Central Committee, said: I am for broad participation of all political and social forces in the 'ruling base.' The national unity front did not create appropriate conditions for this and therefore it must be thoroughly changed. I am not only thinking of my party, but I also have in mind other forces which count and people with no party affiliation. They must be ensured a share in government according to their numerical strength. This should have its reflection in a council of national accord, the founding of which my party warmly supports. Equally, this should be reflected in the coming elections to the People's Councils. This is why we are for changing the electoral law and making it more democratic.

Zdzislaw Tokarski, alternate member of the PWUP CC, said: In my opinion, the idea of a front of accord means practical implementation of the line of agreement and dialogue put forth at the 6th PUWP CC Plenum and approved by the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress. Thus, it is agreement of all social forces of the Polish nation which espouse the principles of Poland's socialist system enshrined in the Constitution, forces willing to bear responsibility for economic revival of the country, for the security of the motherland.

I believe that the accord front should encompass not only the top echelons of the state and social hierarchy bur embrace the entire society.

Marek Brunne, Solidarity National Commission's press spokesman, said: The idea of a front of national accord as presented by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at the latest Sejm session was very well received by Solidarity. We have always felt that national concord and agreement are conditions for social calm in our country. Our standpoint is reflected in the programmatic resolution approved by the Solidarity congress. The recent meeting of Premier Jaruzelski, Primate Glemp and Solidarity leader Walesa shows what basic social forces should represent this agreement. This has nothing to do with a concept of any kind of a 'ruling triad.' Neither Solidarity nor, as far is I know, the church would identify with such proposals.

Wojciech Ketrzynski, Sejm deputy from the Christian Social Association, said: In my understanding, the front of national accord is primarily an action designed to overcome the present crisis in cooperation by all social and political forces provided they approve of the provisions of our Constitution. Such political line which presupposes good will of the parties concerned and readiness to offer realistic compromises is supported by an overwhelming majority of Polish Catholics.

One could also conceive of a front of national accord as a political and social body which would replace the National Unity Front which has become devoid of prestige. I would prefer the word council to that of front.

Alouzy Bryl, Sejm deputy of the Democratic Party, said: The condition for national accord is partnership, relinquishment of the position of strength. The need is for the speediest possible establishment of principles on which the national accord will rest. Next should come concerted action to solve the most vital problems, in particular such issues as the social agreements signed last year which are being shelved because of constant personnel conflicts.

The premier's meeting with the primate and the Solidarity leader has inspired great optimism. The thing to do now is to pass the idea of accord down to the lower levels.

On the same subject, Witold Zakrzewski, chairman of the Sejm legislative committee, no party affiliation, told TRYBUNA LUDU today: The problem is to overcome impressions that the so-called renewal is nothing else but a tactical manoeuvre to revert to what today is regarded as inconsistent with the line of a development policy. This is the question of social confidence.

A front of national accord will prove its worth without doubt once proper postures take shape. They in turn will permeate actions of all kinds of institutions and structures. This will leave no room for the proliferation of confrontation trends for that matter because the striving for agreement will gain the upper hand. Then it will be time to institutionalize attitudes held by all those social forces which are respected by the entire society as representatives of the individual social groups.

PZPR LEADERS' APPEARANCES, SPEECHES NOTED

Kubiak on Accord Front

LD212033 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member and party Central Committee secretary, participated in a party activists meeting which coincided with the inauguration of the new year of political training in a car factory in Zeran.

Assessing the current situation he pointed out that the most important issue at the moment is the attainment of a state of social calm, something that ought to be the primary task for everyone, irrespective of what party card or world outlook he has, for everyone who feels himself to be a Pole. Both party leadership and rank-and-file party members must concentrate their efforts on eliminating the consequences of the economic crisis and the social tensions which have accumulated since August of last year.

Our activities at present must bring about an end to the strikes and lead to a search for means of a social accord, Hieronim Kubiak stated. Speaking of the national accord, he stressed that the party has formulated and propagates the principle of building a front of accord, a principle derived from an acceptance of socialism. To a party which is guided in its actions by the good of a socialist homeland, a front of national accord is not, as some maintain, a tactical maneuver but a principle of a sense of responsibility for the country. However, we have nothing in common; the Central Committee secretary stated, with a program of building an accord which consists of selling out [wyprzedaz] socialism.

Wozniak at Warsaw Meeting

LD202320 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] The presidium of the main board and the main council of the Polish Economic Association discussed in Warsaw today matters connected with the introduction of economic reform. Mariam Wozniak, secretary of the party Central Committee, took part in the discussion.

Speaking about the political conditions necessary for the introduction of reform, Wozniak stated that it is essential to reach a political consensus beforehand and to obtain the cooperation of all legal social forces. Only economic reform, Marian Wozniak went on -- despite the enormous troubles linked with it -- gives us a chance of extricating ourselves from the crisis. He appealed to economists to struggle for the full introduction of economic reform, which can be achieved in 2-3 years.

In the discussion, it was pointed out that it is vital to speed up legislative work (?on) the reform of supply and retail prices and to overcome the opposition of old administrative structures. The Central Committee secretary said the present state of affairs is the result of a decline in authority and a deepening anarchy in social life, one manifestation of which is the drawing of school children into strikes.

Wozniak at Walbrzych Coal Mine

LD230016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] Marian Wozniak, secretary of the party Central Committee, attended a meeting of the party organization of the Walbrzych hard coal mine. Representatives of the other coal mines and mining enterprises in Walbrzych were also present at the meeting. Issues of interest to the mining community were raised, including those concerning the supply of prime commodities and pay problems. Much time in the discussion was devoted to the question of the so-called bringing to account which in the miners' opinion is not being implemented speedily enough or in an appropriate way.

Marian Wozniak expressed his stance on many of the problems raised at the meeting. He spoke on the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions and on the dangers arising from the activities of the extremist wing of Solidarity.

Mokryszczak Steel Plant

AU212008 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Wlodzimerz Mokrzyszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, at the 17 November conference of PZPR delegates in the Warsaw steel plant]

[Text] Speaking at the end of the discussion, W. Mokrzyszczak said that the party must get rid of its bad-luck complex. Currently the party is stronger and is regaining its position in society. W. Mokrzyszczak stressed the necessity of building up mutual trust between the party leadership and the rank-and-file members, of conforming to the principles of democratic centralism, and of fulfilling the decisions of the central party authorities to the letter. He announced that consultations would constantly take place between the party leadership and fundamental organizations, the first of which would concern the front of national agreement.

Referring to the meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski, Primate J. Glemp and L. Walesa, as well as the initiative to establish the front, he said that these were the consistent fulfillment of the idea of accord. We will follow this road -- W. Mokrzyszczak said -- because that is what the huge majority of party members and society wants. However, this is not to be a "supra-government", nor will there be any room in the front for opponents of socialism.

W. Mokryszczak said that there are three basic courses of action for party organizations: to fight political adversaries and enemies of socialism, to fight against anarchy and speculation, and to rid the party of inactive, bureaucratic and inefficient members.

Labecki on Credibility of PZPR

LD211632 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Nov (PAP) -- A meeting has been held by the party activ of Polish Ocean Lines attended by Jan Labecki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR works committee at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. The meeting briefed those present on the main theses and views of Jacek Kuron concerning ways of an opposition seizing power in Poland compiled from published KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] material and his statements for Polish and foreign publications. This was aimed at making those present aware of the close correlation between the actual course of events in Poland and the earlier scenario described by J. Kuron.

Speaking abut NSZZ Solidarity, J. Labecki repeated many times that he absolutely does not equate that union with an opposition. I was and am for Solidarity, a workers' trade union. But I am against all manipulation of that union by various Mr Kurons. I believe that in Solidarity this worker trend will win and it will be an ally of the party,

Answering questions, J. Labecki said: If we are to be credible party with our own identity, we cannot run away from matters which are unpleasant. We must therefore have a final settling of accounts with those members who, by their irresponsible and immoral behavior, let down the honest members of the PZPR, who are after all in the vast majority. We must cement our party above all from the center. I am against extremes, both of the left and of the right. I think Wolczew is just as much a threat to party unity as Bratkowski. The party must check out its members. One of the (?main) criteria should be the resolution of the ninth congress.

Meetings in Chelm, Krakow

LD202250 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Plenary sessions have been held today by voivodship party committees in Chelm and Krakow. The party committee in Chelm discussed the work of party authorities and organizations with regard to the social and production activization in rural areas. The preliminary results of crop husbandry appear satisfactory this year. However, the level of procurement of agricultural produce is lagging behind the potential. There is also an unsatisfactory situation in the procurement of livestock, especially hogs. The majority of parishes in the Chelm Voviodship are unable to meet their own requirements for meat. In order to remedy the situation various measures are being taken in the voivodship, both short-term and long-term. The voivodship committee in Chelm has appealed to all farmers, trade union organizations and rural self-management bodies to support the intensification of the production and procurement of farm produce.

The Krakow Voivodship party committee has discussed at its plenary session the political and organizing activities or party organizations at places of work in the implementation of social and economic tasks.

Orzechowski, Michalek in Opole

LD220104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] The plenum of the Opole Voivodship PZPR Committee held a session today with the participation of Central Committee Secretaries Marian Orzechowski and Zbigniew Michalek to discuss the tasks facing party members in molding the ideopolitical attitudes of society.

Marian Orzechowski referred to the idea of a front of national accord and stated that this idea is linked with the strategic aims of the party and stems from the line of the Fifth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the Ninth PZPR Congress program and from the resolutions of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Agreement at the plenum will be the point of departure, the implementation of which will take place at the grassroots level together with all those forces that are based on the principles governing the political system of our state and on respect for the Constitution.

Czechowicz, Orzechowski in Lodz

AU191713 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Nov 81 p 2

[Jan Kraszewski report: "Lodz"]

[Text] Yesterday, the inauguration of the party school year took place at the ideological training center in Lodz. Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski took part in the ideological aktivs' meeting of the Lodz PZPR organization, which was chaired by Tadeusz Czechowicz, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Lodz PZPR committee.

In his introduction, Tadeusz Czechowicz discussed the basic problems concerning the economic and political life of the country. At a time when the party is introducing far-reaching reforms, it is being sharply attacked by opponents of socialism. As the party of the working class, T. Czechowicz said, we will defend and fight for the interests of the workers.

Dominating Marian Orzechowski's speech were problems concerning the current party situation as well as the tasks of its members in implementing the resolutions of the ninth congress and the fourth plenum of the Central Committee. We no longer have anywhere to retreat, he said. Behind us is a chasm. As the party of the workers and peasants we cannot ruin the testament of our forebears who have been leading the revolutionary struggle for over 100 years. Speaking about the idea of a national concensus front, Comrade M. Orzechowski confirmed the need for the entire community to express itself on this matter. The party wishes to reach an understanding with all the forces professing our constitutional and political principles, he said. The line of the Central Committee's fourth plenum is not a sign of capitulation, but a line of struggle and understanding in order to lead the country out of its political and economic crisis. Great tasks face the entire party, particularly the ideological aktivs, in this struggle.

To end the inaugural meeting 22 comrades received letters of congratulations from the first secretary of the Lodz PZPR committee. Commemorative medals of the PZPR Central Committee's ideological section were awarded to 20 persons.

POZNAN COMMITTEE CONCERNED ABOUT PZPR STATUTE

LD221018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] The party organization at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, at a plenum of the university work committee, has expressed disquiet and doubts regarding the implementation of the newly passed PZPR statute. It was stressed that the Politburo and the Central Committee must set an example by consistent and determined struggle against opportunist denigration [depredacja] of the statute's principles.

RAKOWSKI ADDRESSES STUDENTS ON CONSENUS

AU191645 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Nov 81 p 5

[Report on speech by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at the 14 November Warsaw plenum of the Main Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students]

[Text] Speaking to students, M. Rakowski said inter alia that in the deteriorating situation in the country the newer and newer strike actions were producing catastrophic results not only in the economy, but also in the psychology of society, which was unable to resume normal, calm work.

He said that no government attempts to reach a compromise here producing the desired results. That is why the establishment of the national accord council is the last attempt to create a consensus platform of reasonable people and to restore social order in Poland. We must do all we can, M. Rakowski said, to prevent an open confrontation. This is why it is essential for Solidarity to join the national consensus front. It is necessary to democratize the sociopolitical system in Poland, but we need calm and time to do it. Answering a question on the higher school law, M. Rakowski said that the draft of this law would be sent to the Sejm on 16 November, and that the government would enclose its observations. As for the Radom conflict, he said that the government would make no concessions just as it did not make any concessions in the case of the Lubogora conflict.

SEJM DEPUTY COMMENTS ON NATIONAL ACCORD FRONT

LD211404 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] One of the most important articles in today's central press is the statement by Dr Witold Zakrzewski, Sejm deputy and chairman of the Sejm's legislative work commission. The statement concerns the idea of a front of national accord.

The professor, stating that a new quality comes into play were, a plan of socialist democracy and not socialist arbitrariness stresses that this means cooperation among the most varied forces in our pluralist operation in the name of the national interest. They are to operate within the framework of structures enabling them to express their own stance. This is a rational process of activity, to arrive at a solution to the difficulties of social and economic life in our country.

The success of the idea of a front of national accord can guarantee the overcoming of imagined ideas that the so-called renewal is only a tactical maneuver for the return of what is currently recognized as contrary to the line of the policy of development; so, the point here is to get society's confidence.

Deputy Witold Zakrzewski also stressed the significance of improving the law for the entire process of renewal and stated that a front of national accord will prove itself when appropriate attitudes are formed which will in turn penetrate the activity of the most varied institutions and structures.

SEJM RECEIVES DRAFT LAW ON HIGHER EDUCATION

LD202218 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov (PAP) -- Today the prime minister submitted to the Sejm the draft law on higher shcools worked out by a special commission, with the government's stand appended. In a week's time two appropriate Sejm committees will sit down to examine the draft. Passing of the law is awaited with great impatience by the student communities all over Poland.

The 80-page draft, prepared by a commission staffed with scholars, students, representatives of professional associations and trade unions, regulates the entirety of organization and functioning of non-military higher schools in Poland. It provides legal basis for the creation of a self-government of te academic community in each of the universities. According to the draft, it is this community which will elect the schools's authorities (from among themselves) and oversee their activities. The broadest powers have been reserved for the senate, the highest organ of a higher school, consisting of elected professors, lecturers, students, and staff workers.

One of the provisions of the draft contains the principle of exterritoriality of universities, meaning that public law enforcement organs can intervene physically on campus only on request of rector (except for cases when human life is in danger or there is a threat to public security).

One is tempted to ask whether the current atmosphere of tension and strikes on campuses is the right accompaniment for the last, and most important, stage of formulation of this highly important law?

LABOR MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON JOBLESSNESS

LD210938 Warsaw PAP in English 0838 GMT 21 Nov 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Nov (PAP) -- In his extensive interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Poland's Labour Minister Professor Antoni Rajkiewicz said that under conditions of the economic crisis and then -- the economic reform, there is need for what the termed a social protection or sacrifice sphere, meant to secure the satisfying of the basis needs of the poorest social groups, namely old-age and disability pensioners, families with many children and lonely mothers raising kids.

Under the conditions of imbalance in the country's consumer market, more attention should be paid to the calculation of the poverty line in terms of goods rather than money, Minister Rajkiewicz declared. This would make it possible to plan production so that every citizen be granted the rudimentary amount of basic commodities, he said.

Minister Rajkiewicz said one of his ministry's key tasks is to prevent mass unemployment, and added that this year the situation in the labour market is still fairly good. "We have 163,000 vacancies against 33,000 job seekers at the moment," he said. However, he voiced his concern over the slow progress in the reshuffle fo the administration employees, with some 30,000 people still expected to quit their jobs in the civil service and amalgamations and nearly 100,000 people to leave their posts in industrial administration.

The minister spoke in favour of Poles taking up jobs abroad, and said priority will be granted to those going to work in the socialist countries. Ninety thousand Poles are currently working abroad under adequate contracts, he said, and pointed to the possibilities for sending Polish experts to the developing countries.

PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES ESSENTIAL ECONOMIC MEASURES

LD212125 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Today the Government Presidium held a session under the chairmanship of Premier Wociech Jaruzelski. Draft comprehensive undertakings which are essential for restoring monetary and market equilibrium were discussed. Work on this program will be concluded on an urgent basis. The directions for solving acute payment problems in the light of export possibilities and the state of negotiations with foreign trading partners were defined.

The Government Presidium examined assessments and conclusions arising out of the latest Sejm session and the country's current difficult and dangerous situation.

GOVERNMENT 'NOT LAGGING' IN ECONOMIC REFORM

LD210506 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Representatives of 101 economic enterprises who are acting as economic reform consultants yesterday discussed the principles for action in the coming year. The government representative, Minister Wladyslaw Baka, replied sharply to accusations of procrastination and sluggishness on the part of the government in the introduction of reform. During the session, many critical remarks were made, among other things on the subject of the organization of industry.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

AU211916 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, today chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee. The meeting was attended by government members and other leaders from central institutions as guests.

The meeting discussed and endorsed the Draft National Uniform Plan on the Socioeconomic Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the plan on the development of the agriculture and food industry, the plan on the state budget and the central financial plan for 1982.

The Political Executive Committee stressed that the overall activity of formulating the draft plans for next year has taken place under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and fully in keeping with the 12th RCP guidelines, the 1981-85 5-year plan provisions and the requirements on raising the overall economic and social activity onto a higher level.

The Political Executive Committee highly appreciated the direct contribution made by the party secretary general to substantiating the plan targets for 1982 in the direction of expanding the domestic raw material and energy basis; intensively developing agriculture; improving the structure of industrial production; rationally managing and better using raw materials and energy; raising the technical and qualitative level of products; strengthening the material, financial and foreign currency balance of the plan; increasing economic efficiency to a greater extent; rigorously applying the provisions of the new economic-financial mechanism; and mobilizing all resources with a view to implementing the program of improving the people's living standard.

Discussing the provisions of the Draft Uniform National Plan on the Socioeconomic Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1982, the Political Executive Committee stressed that they envisage an increase in the efficiency of social production by increasing labor productivity to a great extent and constantly reducing production costs, especially material costs. The tasks regarding increasing labor productivity are based on extending the mechanization and automation level, on better organizing the production process and labor, expanding labor to several machines, making complete use of work time and further improving the training of work personnel and strengthening order and discipline throughout the economic activity.

In keeping with the development of the society's material production, the plan envisages a 5 percent increase in the national income and, on this basis, a further increase in the people's incomes.

The Political Executive Committee stressed the need that, in achieving increases in the people's incomes, one should proceed from the principle of completely matching incomes with goods and services. For this purpose, it was recommended that other industrial branches, including small cooperative units, should act to make better use of raw and other materials from local resources to broaden the product range and services designed to appropriately meet the people's requirements.

Special attention must be paid to developing the production of small equipment for agricultural work and for households to assist people to help themselves in resolving certain problems raised by the agricultural and household activity in villages and towns. At the same time, the Political Executive Committee stressed that the draft plan on developing the agriculture and food industry for 1982 directs the overall activity in this field toward intensively developing agriculture to ensure proper supplies for the people with regard to agriculture and foodstuffs and the necessary raw materials for industry and to meet other requirements of the national economy.

Examining then the draft state budget and the centralized financial plan for 1982, the Political Executive Committee stressed that they are based on the achievement's recorded in the first year of the current 5-year plan in all sectors of activity, achievements which tellingly demonstrate the strength and lastingness of the Romanian economy. The drafts are in keeping with the provisions of the Uniform National Plan on Socioeconomic Development and ensure the financial resources for the planned development of industry and agriculture and of all branches of the national economy, and guarantee the improvement of the people's living standard.

The Political Executive Committee then examined and endorsed the program regarding regional self-management and self-supply to ensure agricultural, animal and vegetable products for the people in the 1982-85 period, as well as the program for supplying the people with agricultural products, foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods in the fourth quarter of 1981 and the first quarter of 1982.

Assessing that the recently adopted measures by State Council decrees have led to proper and stable supplies for the people in conformity with the principles of socialist ethics and equity, the Political Executive Committee stressed that the programs on regional self-management and self-supply for 1981-85 are based on the goals established by the 12th party congress for increasing agricultural production and implementing the program on people's proper supply.

The program on regional self-management and self-supply is based on the principles of ensuring proper supplies for the people throughout the year, that is rational and balanced food supplies for all residents both in urban and rural areas, by completely and efficiently making use of all material resources available in each country, municipality, town and commune and by creating a fund for local consumption and a central state fund of agricultural products and foodstuffs.

The Political Executive Committee assessed that the proper implementation of provisions and the complete fulfillment of the agricultural, animal and vegetable productions will ensure proper supplies for the people and rational food consumption in keeping with the requirements of preserving and developing the labor capacity and of improving the health condition of all our people.

The Political Executive Committee decided that the draft plans and the programs that were examined should be submitted to the discussions of the RCP Central Committee Plenum.

The Political Executive Committee examined the conclusions that followed from the control work carried out by the party and state bodies on reporting the nonachievement of large quantities of coal, the inappropriate storage and damage to important quantities of extracted coal and other shortcomings in the activity of the production process at the Oltenia mining combine.

It was decided that the results of those investigations and the measures which are required should be submitted to the discussion of the RCP Central Committee Plenum.

The Political Executive Committee also resolved current problems of party-state activity.

PEACE MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES INCREASE IN VOLUME

Various Marches

AU211641 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1130 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Impressive marches of peace that concluded with meetings took place in a large number of county seats attended by hundreds of thousands of people come from the localities of the respective counties -- workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, pupils, pensioners, housewives, war veterans, citizens of various ages and professions, Romanians and people belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities.

Those that took the floor at these meetings said a resolute no to war, calling on the peoples all over the world to jointly act for ensuring all nations' right to life and freedom, mankind's progress, expressing the aspiration after peace of the Romanian people and declaring in support of the peace initiative of the country's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The respresentatives of the counties to the big rally of peace to take place in Romania's capital city soon were designated during the same meetings.

At the end of the meetings the participants adopted motions to the CC of the RCP, to President Nicolae Ceausescu.

In the main square of the town of Timisoara almost 100,000 working people, inhabitants of the towns and villages of the Timis County took part in the meeting devoted to peace and disarmament.

Before gathering at the above-mentioned meeting, the demonstrators, carrying panels with slogans calling to a lasting peace and condemning war, marched along the main streets of the town. Among the speakers were Petre Danica, first secretary of the Timis County RCP Committee; Wilian Heinz and Marinco Pasic, vice-chairmen of the county councils of the working people of German and Serbian nationalities; (Tonoftei Seviciu), vicar of the Metropolitanate of Banat.

The same day, Slatina, the citadel of the Roman [word indistinct] was the venue of a civic rally organized in the main square of the town attended by over 25,000 participants -- representatives of the working people of Olt county -- who marched on the streets of the town.

The "23 August" Square of Brasov played host to over 60,000 working people from the enterprises and institutions of the county -- Romanians, Magyars, Germans -- gathered in a meeting of protest against arming and war, for peace after marching along the thoroughfares of the municipality.

Tens of thousands of Romanians, Magyars and Germans and citizens of other nationalities of Mures and Cluj counties participated in the big demonstrations for disarmament and peace organized in the seats of the two counties.

A march for peace took pace in the town of Constanta, Romania's main sea gate, attended by more than 40,000 working people. Romania's peaceful vocation, materialized also in her foreign commercial relations to which the town and its ships make an important contribution, was voiced by the speakers at the meeting held in Ovid Square.

In Moldova, the marches and meetings in Suceava and Botosani Counties, attended by tens of thousands of working people, were expressions of the adhesion to the home and foreign policy of the RCP, of Socialist Romania.

In Tirgoviste -- seat of Dimbovita County -- 30,000 persons took part in peace meetings and marches. Over 50,000 working people of Prahova County participated in Ploiesti in a march and a big peace rally.

Similar actions took place in the seats of Gorj, Harghita and other counties.

Such meetings took place in 23 of the 40 counties of Romania.

Writers Support Drive

AU211932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest 21 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Representatives of the writers of Romania gathered on November 21 during a meeting held in Bucharest when they voiced, just as the entire people, their will of peace and disarmament.

The writers, no matter the language in which they write, asserted their full adhesion to Romania's home and foreign policy, pointing out that they were in the first lines of the front for safeguarding peace and answered, with their patriotic and revolutionary consciousness, the appeal for disarmament and peace of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

At the end of the meeting a telegram to President Nicolae Ceasescu was adopted.

HANDICRAFT COOPERATIVES TO HOLD SESSION

AU202046 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The Sixth Congress of the Handicraft Cooperatives of Romania will take place on December 4 and 5, it was announced at the end of the plenary meeting of the Council of the Central Union of Handicraft Cooperatives held on November 20.

The plenary meeting unanimously approved the documents to be submitted for approval to the Congress, analysed the draft plan of the handicraft cooperatives for 1982 and set measures for developing and diversifying services, the production of consumer goods for the home market and for export.

The plenary meeting expressed the will of the almost 400,000 working people carrying out activity in handicraft cooperatives to participate in the vast actions organized in Romania in favor of peace, against arming and war.

CEAUSESCU DISCUSSES DISARMAMENT, U.S. PROPOSALS

AU221803 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Nov 81 p 1

[Text of President Nicolae Ceausescu's interview for the Netherlands Television Network NCRV on 21 November in Bucharest]

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Nov -- Question: Your Excellency, in your latest statements you have warned that the risks for the European Continent to be destroyed are growing with the deployment of new nuclear destructive systems in Europe. How specifically can, in your opinion, these risks be lessened or even eliminated?

Answer: Powerful mass destruction weapons, nuclear weapons are known to have accumulated in Europe. In the past few years, the deployment of new medium-reange nuclear missiles has been pursued and the existing ones have been developed, something that considerably increases the destructive force virtually putting the life of all European nations, civilization, mankind's future in jeopardy. Under the circumstances, I think European governments and peoples ought to take most resolute action to prevent the emplacement and development of new nuclear missiles in Europe, to achieve the gradual withdrawal and cancellation of the existing ones.

Question: President Reagan made the proposal that the two sides should cancel nuclear missiles in Europe. How do you see this proposal?

Answer: There are several proposals to that effect: President Brezhnev's proposal, the European countries' proposal, and recently, President Reagan's proposals. I see all these proposals as an important step toward removing the threat these missiles pose, toward the initiation of negotiations on halting the siting of new rockets and undertake their withdrawal to their complete cancellation. It is in that light that I think all proposals should be considered and action be taken in full responsibility by all sides so as to stop the siting of new missiles and remove them altogether.

Question: I would like to ask a small question. If the West propose that the deployment of missiles should be halted, does that mean that Soviet Union will withdraw and cancel the SS-20 missiles?

Answer: As I have said before, all proposals should be considered. Romania is firmly for the cancellation -- by both sides -- of all missiles, for the removal and cancellation of the existing ones. This agrees with the interests of Europe, of peace throughout the world.

Question: Do you see President Reagan's proposals as propaganda or can you see a positive aspect of these proposals, too?

Answer: President Reagan's proposals ought to be considered, analysed, and so ought to be President Brezhnev's and other proposals, and negotiations be started so as to come to agreements acceptable to all sides, especially so that no nuclear missiles of any kind be sited in Europe.

Question: In connection with their specific security problems, the countries in Eastern and Western Europe share interests which do not always agree with the stand of their allies, the two great powers. Should Europe play a role of its own to have its security ensured?

Answer: Indeed, the European countries, irrespective of their social system or the zone they lie in, have many intersts in common -- economic, cultural, scientific, humanitarian. Together they had wonderful scientific achievements, contributed to the development of civilization and they should act in full unity to ensure their people's economic and social progress, welfare, their independence and sovereignty. In that respect European interests may not always agree with the interests of some of the allies, all the more so as they are not in Europe. Starting herefrom it is my opinion --and Romania has repeatedly stressed this point -- that the European peoples ought to take more resolute action, a more active part in the settlement of disarmament, security and peace issues.

Question: Do you think, Mr President, that countries like the Netherlands and Romania can -- and maybe must -- take a path of their own as concerns their own peace and security problems all while observing and remaining in their alliances? Is it possible that cooperation be sought beyond the line that divides Europe?

Answer: I would like to point with satisfaction to Romania's broad cooperation with all European states, to our good relations with the Netherlands. Under the current circumstances, we observe the fact that our countries are in different alliances though we are for the dissolution of military blocs, for a Europe in which security and independence should be ensured by a policy of disarmament, of respect for independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Starting herefrom, I think that Romania and the Netherlands can make a more important contribution to the overcoming of military blocs, to the strengthening of European cooperation and unity, to the achievement of a peaceful Europe in which each nation can develop as it wishes, free from domestic interference.

Question: Never has the threat of a nuclear catastrophe in Europe been so great, never has the protest against the arms race been so strong. Can you, Mr President, see in this some hope that today, more than ever before, a new way can be found to peace in Europe? Would you like to refer in that context also to the manifestations due to take place in Amsterdam?

Answer: It is true that never has the threat of a nuclear catastrophe of Europe's destruction been greater than today. That has also sensitized public opinion, the people of Europe to the growing awareness of the fact that their lives, those of the generations of today and tomorrow are at stake. I think the European people can bring about a halting of the arms race, of the siting of new nuclear weapons and the cancellation of the existing ones, they can achieve cooperation in the spirit of the Helsinki-signed documents on the basis of an active work-together for economic and social progress, of respect for each nation's independence and sovereignty. The interests of the European peoples require that they should do their best to achieve a durable peace in Europe, to contribute to world peace.

In this respect, it is my opinion that the big demonstrations in the European countries, in various states of the world are an expression of the lofty consciousness of the popular masses determined to have a firmer say, not to accept that their life and future should be decided without them. I appreciate much the demonstrations in the Netherlands and those due in Amsterdam, the same way I appreciate the big demonstrations in Romania. I consider them to show the people's concerns to have their peace, independence and quiet ensured.

Question: So far, most of the east European countries have applauded only the growing criticism in the West of Western Europe's defence policy. As the public opinion in our country has already learnt of your initiative to start a big mass movement for peace in Romania, would your excellency like to tell us to what extent are the Eastern countries ready to take a critical stand on the arming policy threatening Europe, especially the West European countries.

Answer: I can say that east European countries have applauded not only the criticism of the West European defence policy, but also the measures and actions taken against the arms race, for disarmament and peace all over the world. An expression of that stand are the big manifestations in Romania, but also the concerns and firm stand of other countries in Eastern Europe. I think that the peoples in Eastern Europe, like the peoples in the West, north or South of Europe ought to concert their efforts, take action for general disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, under an adequate international control to ensure a balance of forces through continual reduction of the level of arming. All the peoples of the continent ought to take action and no longer admit nuclear weapons in Europe and promote equal cooperation among all European countries. This agrees with the interests of both those in the West and those in the East and I think that they both should take action in unity and most firmly on that line.

SCINTEIA Commentary

AU211646 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 21 Nov 81

["The Cessation of the Arms Race -- Vital Contemporary Question" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The cessation of the arms race, first of all of nuclear arms, and within this, the questions of renouncing to emplace medium-range missiles in Europe and of the withdrawal of the existing ones are priority subject-matters of the international political life and focus peoples and world public opinion on them, newspaper "SCINTEIA" of November 21 writes, in a commentary headed as above.

Starting from the importance of these questions which are essential for the continent's security and, in general, for the peace in the world, different states have recently made declarations of principles and specific proposals in view of stopping the arms race, building confidence and making concrete steps on the road of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the newspaper goes on, and then publishes some of the main proposals made lately, on the one hand, by the Soviet Union, in the interview granted by L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the West German review "DER SPIEGEL" and, on the other hand, by the USA, in the speech recently made by USA President Ronald Reagan, at the National Press Club in Washington.

Undoubtedly, the achievement of disarmament, the cessation of the arms race, are complex questions, with numerous aspects and implications, whose settlement is stringently demanded by all nations, by mankind's supreme interests, and "SCINTEIA" goes on: in the constructive spirit, characteristic of her entire policy, of the high responsibility for the cause of peace, for the destinies of human civilization, Socialist Romania has steadily proposed to reach mutually acceptable solutions, to make concrete steps on the road of disarment, thus ensuring the renunciation to the emplacement of medium-range missiles in Europe and the withdrawal of the exsiting ones, as well as the renunciation to the manufacture of the neutron warhead.

In this respect, well-known are the tireless activity carried out by President Nicolae Ceausescu, the wide-resounding initiatives and appeals by which the RCP general secretary, the president of the republic called on the world to do every thing in order to hamper the escalation of nuclear armings in Europe.

Thus, in the speeches made lately at the great civic rallies in Braila, Satu Mare, Bistrita, Zalau, Baia Mare, on the occasion of summit contacts, or in interviews granted to the international press Romania's president has firmly declared against medium-range missiles, for the beginning of negotiations with a view to stopping the manufacture of other medium-range missiles, for the withdrawal of the existing ones and the passage to their destruction. "We militate most firmly -- Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted -- against the emplacement of other missiles, for the withdrawal and the reduction -- on either side -- of medium-range nuclear rockets, as a first step towards their complete elimination.

The question of renouncing the emplacement of medium-range missiles and of the withdrawal of the existing ones is a vital problem for Europe's peace, and that is why, it directly concerns, to the highest degree, all the peoples on the continent, all the states and peoples of the world. Starting from this reality, Romania has steadily made proposals, both at the UN, and at the Madrid reunion for security and cooperation, for finding ways conducive to the undelayed settlement of the disarmament issue, by the efforts and broad participation of all states.

Socialist Romania has firmly declared for the unfolding of negotiations which may lead to the closeness of stands, to equitable solutions in accordance with the interests of all peoples' peace and security. By means of negotiations, by analyzing lucidly and in a constructive spirit the proposals that had been made, steadily seeking out mutually acceptable solutions, giving pride of place, above all divergencies of opinions, to the major demand of all peoples which want to eliminate the nuclear danger, by displaying perceptiveness, it was our country's conviction that the barriers of distrust can be surmounted and solutions can be reached in accordance with mankind's peace will.

Europe, the world, do not need rockets, do not need the neutron warhead. Europe, the world, peoples need peace, a constructive use of the huge resources wasted on armings, need confidence and collaboration for mankind's general progress. This is the mobilzing objective eloquently expressed by big mass manifestations which took place and keep taking place in various Western countries, in USA too, participated in by most different social categories. Understanding must be present and this vital human desideratum must be taken into consideration, effective actions must be taken in order to meet peoples' will to live in peace and security, in a world without weapons and wars.

This is the demand the Romanian people echo with great strength throughout the whole world, by enthusiastic manifestations which take place these days all over the country in response to President Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant peace initiative, in the name of the fundamental interests of our nation, of all the peoples in Europe and in the whole world, "SCINTEIA" concludes.

WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS TO MEET IN BUCHAREST

AU211908 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Nov (AGERPRES) -- In keeping with the understanding reached, the meeting of the committee of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty participating states will take place in Bucharest at the beginning of December.

CEAUSESCU MEETS SOVIET MARSHAL KULIKOV, GRIBKOV

AU201657 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and supreme commander of the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Viktor Kulikov, marshal of the Soviet Union and chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact nations, and Army General Gribkov, head of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, who are on a visit to our country.

The meeting was attended by Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense, and Col Gen Vasile Milea, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff.

The guests extended war greetings to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and wishes for successes in his overall activity on behalf of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Soviet Union, and Comrade Dimitriy Ustinov, marshall of the Soviet Union and minister of national defense of the Soviet Union.

Expressing thanks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the Soviet guests to convey warm greetings and best wishes for health and success in their activity to Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and to Comrade Ustinov. The ensuing talks took place in a comradely atmosphere.

DUMA MEETS GDR NATIONAL FRONT DELEGATION

AU202051 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Nov (AGERPRES) -- On November 20, the delegation of the National Council of the National Front of the German Democratic Republic, led by Manfred Richter, chairman of the Auditing Commission of the National Council, now visiting Romania, was received by Aurel Duma, Romanian minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, secretary of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council.

Aspects were examined of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, the wish being expressed to steadily deepen and diversify them in the spirit of those convenanted during the talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Chairman Erich Honecker. Views were also exchanged on current international questions.

The same day, the delegation had an interview with Ion Stanciu, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

RCP MESSAGE TO SWEDISH LEFT PARTY CONGRESS

AU201415 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1145 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Report on message from the RCP Central Committee to the 26th congress of left party-communists of Sweden]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The Romanian Communists follow with keen interest and feelings of deep sympathy the activity and the struggle of the Left Party-Communists of Sweden devoted to the strengthening of the working class' unity of action, for the union of the working, democratic and progressive forces from Sweden in the struggle for the defence of the fundamental rights of the working people, of the entire people, for the achievement of deep-going renewals in the life of society as well as of the actions devoted to the cessation of the arms race, of the resumption and deepening of the policy of detente, peace and cooperation among peoples -- reads the message addressed by the CC of the RCP to the 26th congress of that party.

Expressing satisfaction at the ascending evolution of the links of friendship and collaboration existing between the Romanian Communist Party and the Left Party-Communists of Sweden, which have been determinantly stimulated by the fruitful meetings and talks between the leaders of the two parties, Nicolae Ceausescu and Lars Werner, the message goes on: We are convinced that these links based on the principles of mutual esteem and respect, of independence and non-interference in internal affairs, of each party's right to set its political line, its revolutionary tactics and strategy according to the historical, national and social conditions in their own countries will continue to further develop in the interest of the strengthening of the friendship between the Romanian and Swedish peoples of the expansion of collaboration on multiple planes between Romania and Sweden, to the cause of security, national independence and peace in Europe and in the whole world. The message highlights the stringent necessity of the intensification, unity and collaboration of all political, anti-imperialist and progressive forces, of the broad masses of people, of public opinion for halting the deterioration of the international situation, for the resumption and the continuation of the policy of peace, detente, collaboration and observance ot national independence.

The Romanian Communist Party, the message goes on, considers that the attainment of lasting and real security in Europe and the world requires resolute action for the cessation of the arms race, the halting of the emplacement and withdrawal of the medium-range missiles, against the production of the neutron bomb, for concrete measures of disarmament, nuclear above all. Our party, Socialist Romania campaign firmly for the successful conclusion of the Madrid reunion that should give a fresh impulse to the carrying through of the Final Act provisions, to the development of unhampered collaboration among European states, the strengthening of the climate of peace and collaboration and particularly covenant the calling of a conference on confidence and disarmament in Europe.

We declare for the settlement of all interstate conflicts only by negotiations, for the rigorous observance in international relations of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-immixture in internal affairs, nonrecourse to force and threat with force, for the building of a world of peace and cooperation among peoples.

The CC of the RCP addresses to Swedish communists wishes of full success in the carrying through of the decisions they will make, in their activity in the service of understanding, security, national independence, detente and peace in Europe and the world over.

COMMERICAL TALKS WITH SWEDEN CONCLUDE IN BUCHAREST

AU201944 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1914 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The proceedings of the eleventh session of the Joint Romanian-Swedish Commission for Commerce took place in Bucharest over November 18-20. The stage was analyzed on the occasion of the commercial relations between Romania and Sweden and fresh measures and modalities were covenanted for expanding and diversifying bilateral goods exchanges on mutually advantageous bases.

The protocol of the session was signed at the end of the proceedings.

BRIEFS

CONSUMER COOPERATIVES PLENUM -- Bucharest, 11 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The plenary meeting of the Council of the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives of Romania took place in Bucharest on November 10 when the programme of the participation of the consumers' cooperatives in the manifestations and actions held all over the country for disarmament, peace and collaboration among peoples was adopted. The Council of the Central Union of Consuemrs' cooperatives also decided the convening of the Seventh Congress of the Consumers' Cooperatives of Romania on January 21, 1982. [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1832 GMT 11 Nov 81 AU]

SUNDIC ON SIGNIFICANCE OF BREZHNEV VISIT TO FRG

LD220406 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] What the Soviet Union and the FRG expect from the coming dialogue between Brezhnev and Schmidt is further promotion of cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere, as well as a relaxation of tension, however insignificant, in relations between East and West. It must be said that the latter does not depend solely on the mood in Moscow and Bonn or on their specific needs. The Soviet Union and the FRG are equally interested in the normalization of the situation in Europe. However, the FRG is neither willing nor able to overstep in its relations with Moscow the boundaries which could upset its relations with the United States and its obligations as a U.S. ally.

Relations between the two superpowers are such that there can be no hope of any dramatic turnabouts on the European political scene, at least not until they themselves have achieved a turnabout in their mutual contacts. As things are at present, in spite of the disarmament plan Reagan offered to Moscow a few days ago, such a turnabout is not likely. Moscow described Reagan's plan as a propaganda move as well as one calculated to influence the Brezhnev-Schmidt dialogue.

Nevertheless, there is hope that good relations between Moscow and Bonn could contribute towards relaxation of tension in relations between Moscow and Washington. The FRG Government aspires towards this and the Soviet Union is inclined to encourage it as much as possible to intensify its activity in this direction.

The greatest problem facing Europe since the war has been and still remains the problem of the arms race. Brezhnev and Schmidt will devote a great deal of attention to this issue, which will also be the only item on the agenda at the meeting between Gromyko and Haig on the 30th of this month in Geneva.

Before the announcement of Reagan's plan, the American side stressed on several occasions that not a great deal is expected from the Geneva meeting of the ministers of the two superpowers. It seems that this view is also shared by Moscow. The two superpowers cannot agree on who should give way where. While the Soviet Union claims that the United States is trying to tip the balance of power in its favor, Washington is stubbornly trying to prove that the balance of power in Europe has already been upset to the advantage of the Soviet Union. While the two superpowers are arguing and competing with each other, Europe suffers. It is impossible to know where this rivalry will end. It is likewise impossible to detect any possibility that Europe might exert a crucial influence in this respect.

The FRG Government is not alone in its attempts to safeguard all it has achieved to date in its relations with the East. Similar attitudes also exist in other Western European countries. However, not one of America's Western European allies is capable of conducting a fully independent policy towards countries of the other bloc. The great ally, namely the United States, does not hesitate to go so far as an occasional threat, which in the majority of cases does not go unheeded.

However, the extremely complex and unpredictable relations between the two superpowers does not cause Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Bonn to lose any of its significance. If nothing else, it confirms that not all lines of communication between the East and West are blocked and that the door leading to negotiations, even on the problem of disarmament, is not shut. Anyway, the very fact that Western Europe wants cooperation with the East represents a valid proof that this is no longer the Europe of the 50's. Precisely for this reason [words indistinct] not only for its own benefit but for the benefit of European and world peace. If such encouragement were missing, it would not be good for any one.

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER CONTINUES OFFICIAL VISIT

20 Nov Talks With Vrhovec

LD201830 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Nov (TANJUG) -- In the first part of the talks between Vrhovec and Cheysson, which took place today, it was reported that the two ministers discussed the general trends of Yugoslav-French bilateral relations and international cooperation.

It was noted on this occasion, in a very cordial and open exchange of views, that bilateral cooperation between the two countries was developing positively, and emphasis was laid on joint interest in strengthening mutual cooperation in both the bilateral and international spheres. The French minister of external relations emphasized the fact that his arrival today marks the first visit by an official representative of the new French Government and that this would soon be followed by a visit from the French minister of foreign trade. It was noted by both sides that the victory of the left at the latest parliamentary elections in France opens up new possibilities to strengthen political contacts and cooperation between the two countries in the international sphere.

Federal Secretary Vrhovec repeated that Yugoslavia respects the decision of the majority of French people in giving their trust to the current French Government. Minister Cheysson emphasized in this context that France does have some "factors in common" with Yugoslavia. In this connection he mentioned their deliberations about decentralization and interest in studying the Yugoslav experience, although they do not intend to go "as far" in this. Cheysson also mentioned workers' self-management, which the French also intend to study more deeply, in connection with which they are particularly interested in our experiences in preventing state domination and the bureaucratization of social ownership.

On international issues Cheysson laid particular emphasis on France's interest in Yugoslav views of the problems of the underdeveloped, in both the economic and political spheres. As an example of France's new interest in this, he also cited the recent visits to France by many statesmen from underdeveloped and developing countries. France is also interested in the policy of nonalignment which, as the new leader of the Quai d'Orsay emphasized, it wishes to support.

Both sides also emphasized their interest in an exchange of views on all international issues.

Today views were exchanged on the situation in Europe, problems of disarmament, some crisis flashpoints and the problems of the developing countries. The talks continue this afternoon.

Talks Continue

LD202210 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2051 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Nov (TANJUG) -- When they resumed their talks this afternoon, Josif Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Claude Cheysson, the French foreign affairs minister, exchanged views on some current crises and noted that they should be resolved by political means on the basis of respect and application of the principles of independence, noninterference and equality of all countries.

The heads of Yugoslav and French diplomacy discussed in detail and openly the development of the situation in Europe and the state of East-West relations in general, and in this context they also expressed the wish for a reduction in international tension and the strengthening of dialogue instead of exacerbation and further arming.

Views were also exchanged in detail about the most acute problems of arms build-up and disarmament, in particular those problems which refer to our continent.

In the talks today, the interest of the two countries was expressed that the Madrid CSCE meeting should come out of the impasse and result in success. This refers in particular to the question of achieving agreement on the convening of a disarmament conference and of this conference entering its first stage.

In the talks between Vrhovec and Cheysson, reference was also made to the present situation at the United Nations, as well as to the need to strengthen bilateral relations and cooperation -- both at the interstate level -- as well as to the strengthening of relations and the sociopolitical organization of the two countries.

The talks held during the informal luncheon, as well as the talks in the afternoon, passed in a very friendly atmosphere. They were both open and meaningful. The talks showed that the two ministers had much to say to one another in view of the fact that both Yugoslavia and France are very active in international relations and that Vrhovec and Cheysson have recently engaged in a very intensive diplomatic activity.

The French minister informed the federal secretary among other things, about France's internal development and about the policy of the new French Government in the internal sphere, as well as about France's relations with some neighboring countries and the Western allies

During the talks, Vrhovec also spoke of the nonaligned policy and of its universal nature, including here also the Yugoslav policy in Europe, as well as of relations with neighboring countries.

It can be said that the two ministers had an exhaustive and meaningful discussion, during which the wish of both sides to inform one another in the best possible way was manifested. Information about the two countries' internal development were assessed as very useful.

Following the talks, the host gave a formal dinner for his distinguished guest from France. The two ministers are expected to resume their talks tomorrow. On that occasion, as well as during the meeting with Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, views on bilateral cooperation as well on some outstanding bilateral issues will be exchanged.

Djuranovic Receives Cheysson

LD201832 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Nov (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, President of the Federal Executive Council today received Claude Cheysson, the French minister of external relations. In a lengthy friendly conversation they talked about the further promotion and expansion of friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between Yugoslavia and France. It was noted with satisfaction that there was readiness and resolve on both sides to give the French-Yugoslav relations a fresh incentive and that cooperation in particular in the economic sphere be enriched with new forms and content.

Bearing in mind the high Yugoslav deficit in the commodity exchange between the two countries, paritcular emphasis was laid on the need to develop cooperation in the sphere of joint investments, production cooperation and joint ventures on third markets.

They also talked about the cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EEC and the problem of the high deficit, at Yugoslavia's expense, in the trade with the EEC countries.

In this context they also discussed the question of adapting the agreement on economic cooperation between the SFRY and the EEC after Greece's entry into the community. Minister Cheysson expressed an appreciation of the difficulties which Yugoslavia encountered in its cooperation with the EEC and of the efforts made to increase the exports of Yugoslav goods to this market.

Both sides expressed readiness to make concrete efforts towards the comprehensive development of general relations and cooperation between the two friendly countries. Within this context, Minister Cheysson's visit was assessed to be a significant contribution and useful beginning in a series of forth-coming contacts between the two governments.

The following took part in the talks: Milos Melovski, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs; Dusko Popovski, the Yugoslav ambassador in France; Nikola Cicanovic, adviser to the president of the Federal Executive Council for foreign policy affairs; and on the French side, Harris Puisais, adviser to the foreign affairs minister, and Yves Pagniez, the French ambassador in Yugoslavia.

Received by Grlickov 21 Nov

LD211150 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Claude Cheysson, the French minister of external relations, who is paying an official visit to Yugoslavia. During a long, friendly conversation they exchanged views on the further promotion of relations between the LCY and the French Socialist Party and on other questions of mutual interest. Both sides noted the existence of fresh possibilities for the intensification of political contacts between the two parties and pointed out the need to expand and deepen interparty cooperation.

Talks With Kraigher

LD211708 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- President of the SFRY Presidency Sergej Kraigher, received French Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson, accompanied by French Ambassador Yves Pagniez at the Palace of the Federation today. During a long, friendly conversation which was also attended by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Josip Vrhovec and Yugoslav ambassador to Paris, Dusan Popovski, they dwelt on a number of questions which preoccupy the two countries. Both sides stressed their desire to promote bilateral cooperation as far as possible. In this connection the French minister, speaking about the present government's intentions, referred to specific steps to be taken to intensify economic and technical cooperation along with initiatives aimed at developing more fruitful cooperation in other fields, as well.

Considerable attention was paid to Yugoslavia's cooperation with the EEC. It was noted by both sides that it is in the interest of both countries to further develop comprehensive cooperation.

It was noted with pleasure that many problems of international relations and the international positions of the two countries point to closer cooperation between Yugoslavia and France. In this connection both sides expressed the desire to have frequent extensive Yugoslav-French exchanges of views at different levels.

External Relations Minister Cheysson also spoke about the important role of the Movement and policy of Nonalignment in preserving the independence of countries [words indistinct].

The conversation also covered individual questions of the policy of (?nonalignment) in the complex international situation. Topical questions, the role of the workers' movement and the usefulness of closer Yugoslav-French cooperation in this field were also discussed.

More on Talks

LD211830 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- A mutual desire for the promotion of bilateral relations and identity of similarity of views on major international questions marked today's talks between President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher and French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson.

Considerable attention was devoted to Yugoslavia's cooperation with the European communities. It was pointed out that this cooperation whould be be restricted solely to trade but developed comprehensively.

The talks also dealt with some questions related to the policy of nonalignment in the current, complex international situation.

A great degree of agreement of identity in the two friendly countries' views on many questions of mutual interest was confirmed also in the joint assessment made at a press conference by the French foreign minister and Yugoslav Secretary for Foriegn Affairs Josip Vrhovec at the end of the official Yugoslav-French talks.

Vrhovec and Cheysson called for the earliest possible holding of comprehensive disarmament negotiations. In this context, both sides attached exceptional importance to a successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting on European security and cooperation. They expressed the hope that the coming U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva would give an impetus to detente. Although the greatest responsibility for world peace lies with the big powers, the considerable role of other countries in detente must not be overlooked, Josip Vrhovec said.

In the context of the Middle East crisis and El Salvador, the Yugoslav foreign secretary and the French foreign minister underlined that Yugoslavia and France give full support to the principles of non-interference, independence and autonomy and stressed the right of all nations freely to choose their road of development without outside pressure.

Claude Cheysson added that France upholds the independence of "all countries of the south" and stressed that France extends "systematic support" to non-aligned countries.

In their joint assessment at today's press conference, Vrhovec and Cheysson once again emphasized the question of the further opening of the West European market to Yugoslav goods. The French foreign minister stressed that there are good prospects for the sale of Yugoslav commodities on EEC markets.

Visit, Talks Summarized

LD220146 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 21 Nov 81

["Cheysson's Visit to Yugoslavia Ends" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- During the 2-day visit by the French minister of external relations, Claude Cheysson, who left Belgrade for Paris today, Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and his guest from France carried out a comprehensive and useful exchange of views on topical issues of international relations, on the activities of the two countries in the international arena and on the state and prospects of bilateral relations and cooperation.

Yugoslavia's and France's interest in continuing to develop and promote mutual relations and cooperation and the friendship of the peoples of the two countries on the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty, equality, noninterference and mutual respect was confirmed.

The state of relations as a whole was given a positive assessment and the broad responsibilities of poltiical cooperation between the two countries aimed at strengthening their contribution to the consolidation of international peace and security, to the normalization of the situation and stability in Europe and to the promotion of justice and progress in the world were pointed out. The need to establish equilibrium in bilateral trade and to raise economic cooperation onto a higher level, this being of significance to the overall relations between the two countries, was stressed.

The talks also embraced issues concerning the promotion of relations between the SFRY and the EEC.

A highly positive assessment was made of the significance and usefulness of strengthening cultural ties and cooperation between the two countries and of allowing the peoples of Yugoslavia and France to get to know and understand each other better.

(?Particular) attention was also paid to issues linked with the status of Yugoslav citizens temporarily working in France, as well as to some other issues in the relations between the two countries.

Within the framework of the exchange of views on international issues, joint concern was expressed about the present very unfavorable state of international relations and the intensified arms race, which negatively affects attempts to resolve current problems and the world climate in general. The need was stressed to urgently halt these unfavorable trends and to undertake efforts aimed at encouraging trends of universal and all-embracing detente through dialogue and strengthening mutual trust as well as through consistent respect and affirmation of the principles of sovereignty, noninterference and equitable cooperation.

Particular attention was paid to the situation in Europe where the continued rivalry in the arms buildup threatens the general European and world peace. A positive assessment was made of starting a dialogue between the United States and the USSR on the limitation of nuclear arms and the hope expressed that this will be the beginning of a broader process of general disarmament.

The need was stressed to undertake efforts aimed at overcoming the difficulties in the work of the Madrid CSCE meeting and at making that meeting end successfully, in particular in connection with achieving consensus on the holding of a European disarmament conference. It was stressed that this would represent a significant contribution to stability in Europe.

Particular attention in the talks was devoted to the problems in relations between developed and developing countries. Proceeding from the positive assessment of the meeting in Cancun, the need to reach an (?urgent) agreement on beginning global negotiations within the UN framework was pointed out as a priority task of the international community. It was noted that the deepening of the gap between north and south represents one of the most dangerous threats to general stability and peace in the world.

During the discussion of the most acute hotbeds of crisis, particularly the Middle East issue, the sides stressed the significance of adherence to the principles contained in the UN Charter on noninterference and on political solutions to conflicts as generally valid bases for overcoming conflicts and crises.

The sides pointed to the appropriate UN resolutions as bases for solving the existing crises and stressed the significance of consistent adherence to the principles of respect for the right of nations and countries to sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, security and progress, as well as for their right to decide independently on matters concerning themselves and their futures.

During the exchange of views on the position and activities of nonaligned countries, the two sides assessed positively the role of the policy of nonalignment as a significant political and independent factor in the solving of international problems and strengthening of international cooperation on a basis of equality.

Federal Secretary J. Vrhovec briefed Minister Cheysson on the situation in the Balkans, on the Yugoslav policy of goodneighborly relations and on cooperation in the Balkans. Minister Cheysson acquainted the federal secretary with cooperation within the European community and with some initiatives of the community in the international arena. Both sides stressed the usefulness of strengthening political contacts and of continuing dialogue between the two countries. The talks were held in an atmosphere of openness, friendship and full mutual respect.

Minister Cheysson invited Federal Secretary J. Vrhovec to pay an official visit to France. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Cheysson Departs 21 Nov

LD211720 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- French Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson has ended his official visit to our country and left Belgrade this evening.

At the airport, the French minister was seen off by his host, federal secretary for foreign affairs Josip Vrhovec, Assistant Federal Secretary Milos Melovski and SFRY Ambassador to France, Dusan Popovski. French Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Yves Pagniez was also at the farewell ceremony.

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH LIBYA

LD202028 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, is leaving tomorrow for the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan people's revolution. Here is a commentary by Milika Sundic on the Kraigher-Qadhdhafi meeting:

Sergej Kraigher and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi will discuss two groups of questions: the further expansion of bilateral cooperation, above all economic, which is highly developed but offers even greater possibilities, and topical international problems, in particular the situation in the Near and Middle East, activity of the Nonaligned Movement and present-day developments in the world in general.

Yugoslavia maintains good and friendly relations with all Arab countries and has always advocated their unity. In other words, it has always held the view that they should overcome everything that has a negative effect on inter-Arab cooperation and enables the great powers and military blocs to make their presence increasingly felt in that part of the world.

Regrettably, the division between the Arabs continues to be very pronounced and it is a great question when it will be overcome. There is justified fear that it will continue for a long time yet. For instance, relations between Libya, Egypt and Sudan are very tense and the United States has also become involved in that in a specific manner. The recent incident in the Gulf of Sidra, when two Libyan aircraft were shot down, and the present U.S.-Egyptian military maneuvers in the Egyptian desert are, justifiably or not, appraised in Libya as a direct threat to Libyan independence.

This is most likely one of the reasons which guided Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi when he decided a few days ago to withdraw Libyan troops from Chad. The presence of Libyan units in Chad was very controversial and it is a good thing that this question has been removed from the agenda, because this decision by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi reduced the possibility of additional pressures on Libya. It should be noted, though, that peace and stability in that part of the world could be jeopardized at any moment, especially if one bears in mind the fact that excuses are being looked for even when they do not exist.

Yugoslavia energetically supports every Arab country's right to full freedom and independence, and likewise is energetically opposed to any interference in their internal affairs, regardless of where it comes from. Since the victory of the Libyan revolution, Yugoslavia has extended this kind of support to Libya as well, in the course of which advice has never been withheld with regard to the need never to give anyone any excuse for interference in the internal affairs of Arab countries. In fact, in this way Yugoslavia transfers its rich experience to friendly countries, because it is itself very often exposed to pressures from outside.

All the meetings held at the highest level so far, as well as the highly developed bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and Libya, confirms that in relations between the two countries there not only are no problems, but that there are exceptionally good possibilities for the further development of these relations.

Libya is one of Yugoslavia's valuable partners in the field of economic cooperation and Yugoslavia's prestige in Libya is probably higher than that enjoyed by any other country. This is sufficient reason to expect full success in every respect from the next Kraigher-Qadhdhafi meeting as well.

KRAIGHER, DELEGATION BEGIN TRIP TO LIBYA, MALTA

21 Nov Departure

LD211716 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, left this evening on an official and friendly visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and the Republic of Malta. Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Vuko Dragasevic, member of the Federal Executive Council, are accompanying him.

At the airport in Batajnica, Sergej Kraigher was seen off by Petar Stambolic, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency; Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Branislav Ikonic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs; and a number of other prominent Yugoslav personalities.

Arrival in Tripoli

LD212313 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2210 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Tripoli, 21 Nov (TANJUG) — President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, Sergej Kraigher arrived this evening in Tripoli on an official and friendly visit to the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

The high Yugoslav official was accorded a ceremonious welcome and was greeted with the highest honours. Kraigher was greeted by the leader of the Libyan people's revolution, Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, and members of the highest Libyan leadership.

Official Yugoslav-Libyan talks opened in Tripoli this evening and will be resumed tomorrow afternoon.

Libyan official circles attach great importance to Kraigher's visit and express the conviction that this, the third Yugoslav-Libyan top-level meeting this year, will contribute to a further development of traditionally friendly relations and all-round cooperation in the field of economy.

The Yugoslav-Libyan talks are expected to focus on the further development of bilateral and international cooperation and to encompass an exchange of views on the current international situation and the activity of non-aligned countries.

Talks With Al-Qadhdhafi 22 Nov

LD221206 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1004 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Text] Tripoli, 22 Nov (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and the Libyan Jamahiriyah have reached full agreement on enriching the already extensive bilateral cooperation with new contents and higher forms of economic cooperation. This was stated during the first part of the talks between Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the revolution of the Libyan people, which were devoted entirely to the further development of bilateral cooperation, which both sides described as successful and fruitful. This new meeting between President Kraigher and Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, which takes place not long after the recent meeting in Belgrade, was used to reach specific agreements on future forms of cooperation, particularly in the economic and technical fields, so that all the issues were discussed in a distinctly businesslike atmosphere.

Reports say that the talks dealt with the participation of Yugoslav firms in the construction of a number of new installations in Libyan industry and agriculture, some of which are very big, such as those in the field of power industry, chemical industry and transport. In the case of many of these undertakings, Yugoslav economic organizations are already involved in the preliaminary stages of construction. They also pointed to the need for extending investments in the case of the Libyan installations where our enterprises have been involved for some time already, particularly in some fields of technical cooperation about which the Libyan side expressed readiness for a favorable and speedy completion.

While discussing new and modern forms of cooperation between the two countries' economies, particular attention was paid to further Yugoslav purchases of oil and to cooperation in the petroleum industry. Great attention was also paid to the promotion of banking and financial cooperation in forms which would stimulate and simplify the extensive economic cooperation. It was said, among other things, that other countries could also join the joint Yugoslav-Libyan institutions. Reports also indicate that the two sides discussed the realization of some claims by Yugoslav economic organizations about which the Libyan side expressed its readiness for a speedy and favorable solution.

President Kraigher and Colonel al-Qadhdhafi stated with satisfaction that the recently agreed conventions on health insurance and employment, as well as the consular convention, are very important for regulating the position of Yugoslavs who work in Libya. The Yugoslav side also pointed to the need for creating the best possible living and working conditions for our citizens in the Arab country who were involved in the construction of economic installations, or worked in hospitals, schools and other institutions. The Libyan hosts said that they would satisfy these expectations.

The Yugoslav-Libyan exchange of views also dealt with some [word indistinct] open questions remaining from the period of earlier economic cooperation and in this connection they pointed to possible ways for their favorable completion at the earliest possible date.

After the first part of the talks, in which Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, Vuko Dragasevic, member of the Federal Executive Council, and a number of Libyan ministers of various economic departments also took part, Col al-Qadhdhafi last night gave informal dinner for the high-ranking guest from Yugoslavia. They used this occasion also to continue their dialogue on international matters, in which their closest associates also took part.

Talks which continue this afternoon are expected to deal particularly with the very complex situation in the Mediterranean and the need to find the most efficient ways leading to the solution of existing crises and the strengthening of independence of the nonaligned and other countries in this part of the world.

Yugoslavs Working in Libya

LD222306 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 81

[Excerpt] President Kraigher also met in Tripoli today with Yugoslavs working in Libya. They acquainted him with the prospects of further promoting cooperation with this Arab country, certain problems which they encounter on the Libyan market and, in particular, with the conditions under which they live and work and the education of Yugoslav children in Tripoli.

According to the latest statistics, about 7,000 Yugoslavs work in Libya: They are employed on construction sites of our enterprises as well as in Libyan health and other institutions. President Kraigher stressed that with the degree of economic relations achieved, Libya represents an example of fruitful cooperation by nonaligned countries which are dependent on one another and which should try to rely on their own forces to the greatest possible extent, and should try to achieve broad cooperation in every sphere.

PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL DELEGATION ARRIVES

Meets Vrhovec 20 Nov

LD202234 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Nov (TANJUG) -- Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today received the Palestine National Council delegation headed by Khalid al-Fahum, chairman of the council. During a cordial and friendly conversation they carried out a broad exchange of views on the latest developments in the situation in the Middle East and on efforts being made to settle the Middle East crisis. Once again stress was laid on the significance of the Palestinian question as the key to a complete, just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

Received by Kraigher 21 Nov

LD211606 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Khalid al-Fahum, chairman of the Palestine National Council, and members of the delegation of this highest-ranking Palestinian representative body. During a cordial and friendly conversation, in which Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly also took part, Al-Fahum expressed gratitude for Yugoslavia's continuing political and other forms of support and aid for the struggle of the Palestinian people and for the PLO as its only representative for the realization of its national rights, including the right to its own state.

Particular attention was paid to topical aspects of the Middle East crisis and initiatives aimed at resolving it. In this connection stress was laid on the need for broader efforts to create the most favorable conditions for a complete and just solution for the crisis in a peaceful manner. In the realization of this goal an important role was played by the strengthening of Arab solidarity and overcoming of individual disputes.

Also discussed was the policy of nonalignment and its contribution to the realization of the right of all states to live in peace and security.

ECONOMIC PROTOCOL FOR 1982 SIGNED WITH CSSR

LD231048 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0928 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 23 Nov (TANJUG) -- Economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia is developing very successfully, it was noted here during the signing of a protocol on bilateral comodity exchange in 1982 at the end of Yugoslav Finance Secretary Petar Kostic's talks with Czechoslovak officials.

In spite of the decline in international economic activities and difficulties in economic operation in both countries, economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia will not be diminished, but on the contrary, increased. The protocol envisages an overall volume of exchange to the value of 1.4 billion dollars, thus listing Czechoslovakia among this country's major foreign trade partners.

Next year Yugoslavia will export to Czechoslovakia machine tools, river-going vessels, various equipment, chemicals, consumer goods, textiles, footwear and other commodities while importing power production equipment, vehicles, machine tools and coal.

In the current five-year period (until 1985), the value of commodity exchange will reach over seven million dollars, a considerable increase in comparison to the preceding period.

LCY DELEGATION RETURNS FROM POLAND 21 NOV

LD211524 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- The LCY study delegation, headed by Franc Setino, secretary of the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, which visited the People's Republic of Poland on the basis of a cooperation program between the LCY and the PZPR, returned to Belgrade from Warsaw today.

At Belgrade Airport the delegation was met by Dusan Lazic, official in the sector for international cooperation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Also present at the delegation's arrival was Viktor Kinecki, ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland to the SFRY.

COMMITTEE HEAD RECEIVES PRC WAR DISABLED

AU211656 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 81 p 7

[Text] Risto Dzunov, president of the Yugoslav Committee for the International Year of the Disabled, has received a PRC delegation of war disabled which, as a guest of the Yugoslav Disabled Association for Sports and Recreation, is currently visiting our country. The Chinese delegation is led by Wei Hengcang, deputy chairman for organizing the International Year of the Disabled and deputy director general of the PRC State Labor Bureau.